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Red Trades Union International

The first Congress of the Red Trades Union...

Chicago

[1922?]

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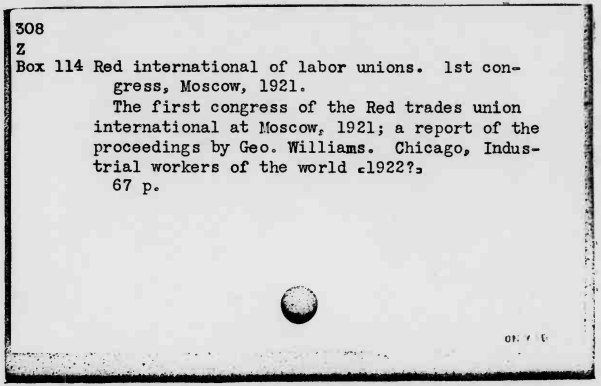
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Box 114 Red international of labor unions. 1st congress, Moscow, 1921.
The first congress of the Red trades union international at Moscow, 1921; a report of the proceedings by Geo. Williams. Chicago, Industrial workers of the world c1922?]
67 p.

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TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm REDUCTION RATIO: 11:1 IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 5/22/97 INITIALS: TCM

TRACKING # : 22461

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The First Congress of the Red Trades Union International at Moscow, 1921

A Report of the Proceedings by Geo. Williams, Delegate from the I. W. W.

PRICE TEN CENTS

The First Congress of the Red Trades Union International at Moscow, 1921

A Report of the Proceedings
by Geo. Williams, Delegate
from the I. W. W.

PUBLISHED BY
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 W. MADISON ST. CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A.

gift of
P. F. Brissenden
6-19-23

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

M.W.I.U. July 10, '23

THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE RED TRADES UNION INTERNATIONAL AT MOSCOW, 1921

The following, which is the preliminary report of Fellow Worker Geo. Williams and sent from Berlin has been cut down and contains points not covered in later reports.

The reports as made out after the return of Fellow Worker Williams from Russia remain as printed in Industrial Solidarity, Dec. 25, 1921 to Jan. 14, 1922, inclusive, with slight corrections and several insertions.

The report follows:

When I arrived in Moscow on July 1st I found that I had been preceeded by the three other fellow workers, acting as delegates from the Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union. I am only acquainted with their surnames. They are Belinkis, Belotin and Calvert. Belinkis and Belotin had credentials issued by the New York District Council of I. W. W. locals. Belinkis and Belotin told me that they, together with Calvert, had been elected by the convention of the Metal and Machinery Workers which was held in Detroit in February of 1921. (I have not sufficient notes with me to give their full explanation and must rely on memory.) However, even though elected as they say by the convention of M. and M. W., General Headquarters would not O. K. their credentials on the ground that the General Convention would send a delegate and also that Hardy was then in Russia and would represent the I. W. W. Calvert, whose credentials I did not see, was, when I arrived in Moscow, on an expedition of some kind about which I will explain when I return home. But I met him shortly before I left, and he tells me the same as the other delegates. He was recording secretary of the Metal and Machinery Convention. I mention the circumstances of these delegates, so you will get a clearer idea or understanding of what will be told later about the Congress of the Red Trade Union International.

In addition to the above mentioned parties, Fellow Worker Kraus was also present as a delegate with credentials signed by Roy Brown as Chairman of the G. E. B. Kraus was empowered (according to the instructions) to act as alternate to Hardy, who was in Russia at the time the credentials were issued and about whom it was not certain whether he could stay for the coming Congress, because of delays and postponements. Kraus worked in the printing shop of the organization in Chicago on the Russian paper.

The above mentioned Fellow Workers had been in Moscow two months before I arrived and had already participated in several caucuses with other American delegates. They had been officially recognized at that time as delegates of the I. W. W. by the officials of the provisional council of the R. T. I. U. and were acting as best they could in lieu of the presence of an official delegate.

Upon arriving in Moscow and becoming acquainted with the situation I informed these Fellow Workers that my credentials stated specifically that I was to be the only official delegate who was empowered by the General Convention and as it was so stated in writing on my credentials they would have to fit in as best they could. They agreed to this and were subsequently admitted to the Congress as fraternal delegates. I saw no reason to object to their position, as neither they nor the officials in Moscow could know if anyone was coming from the General Convention, and besides a few more fraternal delegates in an already stuffed congress could make no difference. In addition to myself and the three Fellow Workers already mentioned I found that the following were in Moscow as delegates from America:

The American Delegates

(1) Ella Reeves Bloor (under the name of Emmons), representing three locals of the International Association of Machinists: Local Union 337 of Chicago; Local Union 225 of Dayton, Ohio; and Local Union 47 of Denver, Colo., totaling about 18,000 members.

(2) Crosby, representing Amalgamated Metal Workers; Amalgamated Food Workers; Boot and Shoe Workers; minority committee needle trades of Boston; Amalgamated Clothing Workers' minority of Boston, totaling from 25,000 to 40,000 members.

(3) Hulet Wells, representing Seattle Central Labor Council. 50,000 members.

(4) Dennis Batt, representing the Detroit Federation of Labor. 60,000 members.

(5) Joseph Dixon, representing the Kansas miners, the United Labor Council of New York City and the Trade Union Educational League of Kansas City. Combined total of from 75,000 to 80,000 members.

In addition to the above, who were seated as delegates with decisive votes, there was a small army of fraternal delegates, who were credentialed by the New York City Red Labor Bureau, most of whom were also delegates to the Third Congress of the Communist International, which was then in session, and they served as convenient stuffing for the Red International Congress. They represented everything that is known and unknown in the American labor movement.

Having perceived the nature of the organizations whom the above delegates claimed to represent, I immediately entered a protest with the credential committee and demanded that they (with the exception of Crosby) be excluded as delegates "with a decisive vote." I also asked to see and examine the credentials of those delegates to whom I objected and learned that the credentials of Dixon were an absolute fraud. He claimed to represent the United Labor Council of New York City, but no credentials could be produced from that organization. Dixon, moreover, did not even know where in New York City this particular organization had its headquarters, nor did he know the names of any of its officials. His credentials from the Kansas miners were likewise absent, but a prepared mandate from the New York City Red Labor Bureau seemed to serve as bona fide credentials for the United Labor Council and the Kansas miners. The United Labor Council of New York City, as near as I can understand, is an organization that serves the same function for radical independent unions of that city as a central labor body in the A. F. of L. It is a propaganda center and has no power to bind its constituents to an affiliation with the Red International. The Kansas miners, whom Dixon claimed to represent, are supposed to be the several districts in that state that are part of the United Mine Workers of America, yet it is certain that they never sent Dixon to represent them, but he appears in Moscow as their delegate. The Trade Union Educational League is a supposed organization in Kansas City,

which only exists on paper. Presumably it is a Communist organization for propaganda purposes. That Dixon's credentials from these organizations were issued by the Red Labor Bureau of New York City and not from the organizations themselves is proof positive that his presence in Moscow was specifically arranged for and that the Red Labor Bureau was the center through which the Communist Party of America worked to control the American delegation. The Red Labor Bureau is itself nothing more than a bureau of the Communist International and functions as such.

Dixon was the American representative on the provisional council of the R. T. U. I. before the last Congress selected another. Who he represented no one knows. That Dixon is a Communist is sufficient to know and explains everything.

The credentials of Batt, representing the Detroit Federation of Labor, stated clearly and specifically that the bearer was being sent as a fraternal delegate.

The credentials of Bloor or Emmons are open to suspicion, and whoever they were made out for was only empowered to act in a fraternal capacity. Certain it is that these three locals, thousands of miles apart, did not elect the same person as their representative, each selecting a delegate about the same time. The case is simple from the standpoint that Emmons or Bloor is a Communist and all that was needed was a letter head and a typewriter.

The credentials of Wells, representing the Seattle Central Labor Council, were also fraternal.

The credentials of Crosby, insofar as the Amalgamated Metal Workers were concerned, were good, although his representation of minorities in the needle trades of Boston and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the same city are rather dubious and at the most are for minorities manufactured by the Communist Party of America. Crosby is a Communist.

What I have explained about the character of the delegates was also the case in the delegations of all other countries. From the first it was apparent that each delegation was safely controlled by Communists and all working strictly on the policy as laid down by the Communist International. The credentials committee (the most important in view of the fact that they decided on the standing of all delegates) was composed mostly of Communists and they maintained a (poorly concealed) hostile attitude towards all Syndicalist and Industrialist

delegates. This credentials committee had one function only, and that was to see that each delegation was controlled by Communists. About the credentials of Syndicalists and Industrialists they were strangely rigid in their inspection, but about the credentials of those who were Communists anything was good enough.

The various countries were classified in four groups: England, America, Germany, France, Russia, Spain, etc., in the first group and less important industrial countries in others. The first group had 16 votes regardless of the number of delegates, the second group 12 and so on to the last group. Each delegation was instructed to divide the number of votes allotted to it in their own meetings. The American delegation, being, as it was, mostly composed of Communists, divided the votes to suit itself with the following result: Emmons 1, Crosby 3, Williams 3, Wells 3, Dixon 3, Batt 3. Total 16.

To understand more the nature of the delegates present at the Congress of the Red International I must briefly explain the manner in which many of them were sent.

From America six delegates were present with decisive votes, including myself. Of the six only Crosby and myself were official representatives of radical labor bodies or of any other kind of organization. Emmons and Dixon were Communists (so was Crosby) sent over by the Communists of America. Wells and Batt were fraternal delegates from A. F. of L. central labor bodies. None of these four delegates could under any circumstances show that the organizations they represented or claimed to represent would ever become an integral part of the Red Trade Union International. It was admitted that the Trade Union Educational League represented by Dixon was only a propaganda bureau set up in Kansas City to educate the members of the A. F. of L. to Communist principles. But it was argued that since there must be some radical members of the Kansas City trade unions, who as such had no organization, their logical representative was the Trade Union Educational League, or in other words the Communist Party as personified by Dixon. The Communist viewpoint is that every trade union in the A. F. of L. has what is called a radical minority which is striving to overthrow the present leaders in the A. F. of L. This radical minority has no organization through which it can express itself but it must be represented in Moscow. The Communist Party has an organization, therefore the Communist Party appoints a delegate to represent whatever

minority appears on the labor horizon. Or to put the case in another light, thus: There are many radicals in the A. F. of L. but they have no organization, the Communists of America have an organization but no members.

Made-to-Order Minorities

The manner of defining a radical minority in Communist circles is unique. For instance, the Seattle labor unions go on a general strike contrary to the wishes of the international officers of the various trade unions involved; or the Seattle Labor Council passes a resolution favoring the recognition of Soviet Russia. This is against the attitude of Gompers. There are 60,000 A. F. of L. members in Seattle, therefore in the Communist conception of things the 60,000 members are a minority in the A. F. of L., and as such in the manner described they are entitled to have a delegate to Moscow.

In Kansas among the coal miners a hostile attitude has been maintained against the leaders of the A. F. of L. and the United Mine Workers. They have a so-called progressive leader and go on unauthorized strikes; there are 70,000 coal miners in Kansas who because of their general attitude are styled a minority and as such they should have a delegate in Moscow. In fact they must, and since they as a minority have no means of electing a delegate, the Communist Party through the Red Labor Bureau of New York City obligingly relieves them of this burden and a Communist who never saw a coal mine in his life is dispatched to Moscow.

But there are other ways of creating minorities by the Communists. Several Communists work, let us say, in the railroad shops somewhere. As members of the Communist Party they form what is called a cell movement and as such they are the official Communist representatives of whatever minorities can be construed out of the situation. Whether any of the other workers in the shops who are perhaps radical in their views know of their presence and that they are represented makes no difference. Elections are not necessary in hypothetical cases. To the Communists every trade union is a potential minority and in more ways than one. The Kansas miners or the workers in Seattle are national minorities, but inside the Kansas miners and the unions of Seattle there are other minorities because of the presence of conservative officials. In fact the Communists have created so many minorities that one

begins to wonder if there is any majority. The minorities are made to suit the occasion. Thus the Communists needed national minorities for the Red Trade Union Congress and they were readily furnished by the New York City Red Labor Bureau.

What I have explained here I have found to be the case in every country represented. Germany for instance had over 70 delegates present; of this number perhaps 12 represented actual labor organizations. The rest were representing minorities in the German trade union movement. Moreover, nearly all of these minorities were also delegates to the Third Communist International Congress.

It might now be asked (in view of what I have said) why should there be such a manifest desire to stuff the Congress of the Red International with delegates who did not represent labor bodies when in the call issued by the provisional council of the R. T. U. I. it was clearly stated that the Congress was to be composed of radical trade union delegates only and that a purely economic international separate from the political organization was to be formed. I think that every economic organization which answered the call believed that the R. T. U. I. was to be free from any domination by a political faction. The answer to this is simple; having failed to bring the radical labor unions into the Communist International and knowing that there was a universal desire for an international composed only of radical labor organizations; realizing that sooner or later this International would be formed, the tacticians in the Communist International conceived the idea of forming the Red Trade Union International and dominating it by the mere fact that Moscow would be its headquarters. Thus the radical economic organizations in joining the Red Trade International would place themselves as completely under the domination of the Communist International as though they were units of the Third International itself. The plan as revealed by the deliberations is to place each national labor movement, radical and otherwise, under the domination of the political faction of each country, with the executive committee of the Communist International as the supreme dictators of the world's proletariat.

Stuffing the Congress

In addition to the minority delegates I have referred to, there were delegates from countries in which no revolutionary labor organization exists. There were delegates from Palestine, Georgia (Asia), Korea and several other places too numerous to mention and too hard to find on any map. The ridiculous assumption that revolutionary labor unions exist in Korea or Palestine, and the audacity of seating delegates from these countries in a Congress of revolutionary labor unions are but an indication of the steps taken to stuff the Congress with enough delegates of the desired calibre to put through any program desired. But whatever program was intended for the consideration of the Congress was lost sight of or cast aside for the purely obvious intention of placing the R. T. U. I. under the control of the politicians. In fact, the most of the delegates from Korea and Palestine were credentialed in Moscow and never saw those countries.

One of the most glaring examples of fraud practiced upon the Red Congress by the political group in control was the selection of Andreytchine as a member of the executive council. Andreytchine arrived in Moscow a few days before the Congress ended and as is well known was a political refugee from America. He was not a delegate and bore no credentials from any organization. But he is a Communist and regarded (in Moscow) as being an influential member of the I. W. W. I am reliably informed that Andreytchine was selected as the representative of America on the executive council by a secret caucus of American Communists in Moscow. And the majority of those who participated in the caucus were not even delegates to the R. T. U. I., but were delegates to the Congress of the Third International.

Shortly after arriving in Moscow and appraising the situation as I have briefly described, I abandoned the meetings of the American delegation and refused to attend their deliberations. I could not bring myself to participate in such ludicrous proceedings. I was a minority of three votes with 13 against me. Moreover there was a decided hostility against the I. W. W. I saw that the Congress was to be dominated by the Communists and nothing could be done. The credentials committee decided the course of the whole Congress. Everything was cut and dried. As for the delegates from the revolutionary labor bodies who attended, they might better have stayed home.

Somehow I was selected to serve on two committees (not elected, but just informed that THEY wanted me to act). Both of the committees met at the same time and therefore it was impossible to act on both. These committees were of course dominated by the politicians and the proceedings were a farce.

The sessions of the Congress are also an indication of political domination. A particular feature of the Congress was the shortness of its duration. One would think that a congress called to form a world-wide organization of revolutionary labor unions would have much to deliberate about. The actual length of the Congress was twelve days. Considering that translations were necessary for each speech, motion and resolution, which took up at least two-fifths of the time, and the fact that many speeches were made on purely irrelevant questions, the actual constructive work of the Congress was confined to five days' time. What has been done towards construction can be easily measured from the printed proceedings which are or should be in America by this time. It is certain that no program was adopted that bears any resemblance to a feasible plan of organization. In this the hand of the political faction is seen. The whole truth of the matter in a few words is that the political faction did not want an economic International in fact, but in name only. It is quite evident that a real International of revolutionary industrial unions would become such a powerful organization and of such world wide influence in the revolutionary field that the political organizations would have to surrender their present dominating position. The tacticians in the Communist International know this, therefore they are making every effort to control such an organization and keep it in the embryo stage.

From my observations in Russia and a knowledge of the steps taken to control the R. T. U. I., I am convinced that a truly economic International of revolutionary industrial unions cannot exist with headquarters in Moscow without being dominated by the Communist International.

This is the end of the preliminary report.

In my preliminary report sent from Germany I said that I could not go into the actual proceedings of the Congress of the Red International because I had nothing to refer to at that time. I fully expected that upon my arrival home the matter that I had assembled in Moscow for delivery would be waiting for me. But it has not showed up and there is no way

of knowing when it will. This material was very important, as it includes everything I had assembled bearing on the proceedings of the Congress that had, up until the time I left Moscow, been printed in English, besides much in Russian and German of matter not yet translated. It was impossible to take this matter out of Russia, first because it is not allowed, and second because there was too much; there being a suitcase-full.

This material comprised the daily proceedings of the Congress in English, notes taken by me from day to day, and pamphlets and other important matter. But on finding that nothing had arrived I began collecting what I could in Chicago, but to date have succeeded in getting together very little and from all indications the task of duplicating what I had gathered in Russia will take some time. A report is desired now and cannot be put off to wait for the arrival from Russia of my material, nor is there time to collect it here in America.

I have on hand now, "The Resolutions and Decisions Adopted by the First Congress of the R. T. U. I.", and some of the daily proceedings in English (a scant collection, but sufficient for a report), also a few notes which I carried with me. I will make a report from this, basing it almost entirely on the "Resolutions and Decisions," as adopted by the first Congress of the R. T. U. I. In my opinion this is sufficient because after all these resolutions and decisions are the recapitulation of the whole affair, and it is from this that the members of the I. W. W. must base their conclusions. I will explain as much as possible each resolution or decision. I will also have to refer from time to time perhaps, to resolutions and decisions adopted by the Communist International in order to draw out the significance of the measures adopted in the Red International.

Men With High Hopes

There was no doubt in my mind, when I started for Russia, after being selected as a delegate by the general convention of the I. W. W. that this first Congress of the R. T. U. I. was to be a sincere effort to form an International of the revolutionary labor bodies of the world, and, moreover, that it would be independent of any political group. Indeed I was enthusiastic over the thought that at last the workers would come together at Moscow and weld together an organization that would be irresistible. I am sure, too, that every member also was as interested as myself in the prospect of the I. W. W. becoming a unit

in a world wide organization. The I. W. W. convention certainly looked with favor upon what they thought was to be an International of Red labor organizations, and the delegates there spent much time in extra sessions clarifying the I. W. W.'s position on the subject.

All the information received in America at that time pointed to an independent International. Hardy, who had just returned from Russia, in his report to the convention drew special attention to the attitude of the officials in the Third International and those who were then at the head of the Provisional Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. He quoted Tomsky, who at that time was head of the Provisional Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, as favoring an independent International. Indeed every official in Russia seems to have taken a position in various degrees for an independent International according to Hardy's report.

From the storm that arose in the I. W. W. over the question of balloting for endorsement of the Third International and the subsequent withdrawal of the ballot by the G. E. B., it was evident that the membership wanted nothing to do with a political faction. On the whole, appearances seemed to indicate that the undeviating position of the revolutionary labor organizations in North and South America and Europe against joining a political faction was soon to crystalize itself into an independent International.

The Berlin Conference ....

The Berlin International conference of Syndicalists in which the I. W. W. participated had been held in December of 1920, 977,000 workers from the various countries were represented, and their final conclusion was the adoption of six points which seemed to satisfy them, and in fact gained the endorsement of large labor bodies which were not present. And to my mind they were a fairly good basis on which to form an Industrial International.

I, personally, had summed up the whole situation before going to Moscow, thus:

"That the Communist International after striving unsuccessfully to bring the Revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrialists into their organization and perhaps recognizing that they never would join as units, had come to the conclusion that an inde-

pendent International was the only solution to the problem, and, as an independent International, they would be far more useful to the Russian revolution than in their then isolated condition. And, what is more logical, in view of the situation, that if these revolutionary labor bodies held to and believed in their position, it would be of little use in forcing affiliation with a political faction on them. After all, International Solidarity was the thing most desirable, in fact imperative."

Being in this state of mind, and, as I have said before, having no doubt of the sincerity of the desire of everybody concerned to form an independent International I left for Moscow with nothing but the instructions received from the organization. Had I, or the delegates to the I. W. W. Convention known what course the first Congress of the R. T. U. I. would follow, it is certain that much more attention would have been paid to compiling information regarding subjects dealing with the American labor movement.

But while no thought was paid by the convention to the first Congress of the R. T. U. I. other than to suppose that it would meet only to form the proposed economic International it was not so with the Communist elements, who from all indications had been feverishly preparing for months to descend on this first Congress of the R. T. U. I. en masse.

From very nearly every country, especially Argentina, Australia, New Zealand, Mexico and to a lesser degree the countries in Europe, the representatives from the revolutionary labor organizations came with nothing but simple instructions similar to mine, and like myself anticipating no other problem than the one of binding their particular organizations together with the others of the world.

Communists Well Prepared

But in numbers startling to behold, and burdened under a weight of documents, covering all phases of the Communist theory of the labor movement, the Communist delegates of all countries descended on the first Congress of the Red International, completely rendering the delegates from the Syndicalist and Industrialist organizations into an insignificant minority. Unfolding their voluminous documents they set out to prove that every revolutionary labor organization in whatever country, that was in the slightest degree skeptical about joining the Third International, was in truth nothing but "counter-

revolutionists" "in league with the bourgeois" and many others not too pleasant names. They unlimbered theses, setting forth that the liquidation of the revolutionary labor organizations into the conservative labor bodies of the various countries was the only solution. For an organization like the I. W. W. or the Syndicalist unions of Germany to maintain separate existence from the conservative trade unions was an unpardonable crime. In short, the whole proceedings of the Congress resembled nothing more than a huge court session in which the high priests of the Communist International were sitting in judgment over the "criminal" Syndicalists; called as it were to participate in their own funeral. And what could the insignificant Syndicalists do but sit in speechless amazement at the unlooked-for verbal tirade from the high moguls of Communist intellectuality!

I arrived in Moscow on July 1st from Petrograd, at which place I landed on June 25th. I was delayed there several days waiting for my baggage and would not have stopped if I had not been informed that the Congress would not open until July 17th. But on reaching Moscow I was told that the Congress was to start on the 3rd, consequently I had only two days to prepare for the Congress and all of this time was taken up with getting located and seeking the proper officials to whom I could present my credentials. I was soon in touch with three fellow workers who were acting as delegates (I have explained about them in my preliminary report) and they made me acquainted with the situation insofar as the American delegation was concerned.

I have explained briefly in the preliminary report as published in Industrial Solidarity the manner in which the delegations from the various countries functioned and perhaps it wouldn't be out of order to reprint it here with slight alterations for the sake of clarity.

According to the manner in which the Congress was organized each delegation was grouped according to country. Thus, for instance, all American delegates (including Canada) were in the American delegation: all English delegates in the English delegation and so on. These delegations, viz: American, English, French, German, Russian and others, were instructed to hold meetings of their delegations and select members for the various committees, such as credential, organization, tactics, constitution and so forth.

It was also the procedure for each delegation to apportion

the votes allotted to it among its members. From this manner of proceeding it is easy to understand that the distribution of votes was determined solely by whoever was in the majority on any particular delegation. I have said something before about my protest against the other members of the American delegation, and for the sake of giving the members of the I. W. W. a better insight of the dispute I offer a copy of the statement to the credential committee from the other American delegates regarding the distribution of votes.

Division of American Votes

"1 vote, Emmons: Representing local unions No. 337, Chicago; No. 225, Dayton, Ohio, and No. 47, Denver, Colo., of the International Association of Machinists, totalling 18,000 members.

"3 votes, Crosby: Representing Amalgamated Metal Workers, Amalgamated Food Workers; Boot and Shoe Workers; and minority committee in needle trades, Boston, also Amalgamated Clothing Workers minority, Boston; totalling 25,000 to 40,000 members. These are all independent industrial unions.

"3 votes, Wells: Representing Seattle Central Labor Council, American Federation of Labor; totalling 50,000 members. This organization is a noted revolutionary center in the trade union movement and conducted the greatest local general strike in the history of the United States.

"3 votes, Williams: Representing the Industrial Workers of the World. This revolutionary organization is well known, and needs no comment. According to the information available the I. W. W. has a membership of something less than 20,000. The total amount of per capita tax paid into its national headquarters for the year from Apr. 1, 1920 to Apr. 1, 1921, according to the Secretary-Treasurer's yearly report, was $47,-020.21. Dividing this sum by $3.00 (the amount of per capita paid by each member per year), we arrive at the figure of 15,674 as the total average membership of the whole I. W. W. for the past year. This figure may not be exact; there may be a variation of a thousand or two either way, hence the delegation has not adhered strictly to the principle of proportional representation in this case which would give the I. W. W. one, or at most, two votes and has given to the I. W. W. three votes, which it considers full and complete representation.

"3 votes, Batt: Representing the Detroit Federation of Labor, of the American Federation of Labor, totalling 60,000 members.

The Detroit Federation of Labor is one of the most militant and revolutionary organizations in America.

"3 votes, Dixon: Representing the Kansas miners, the United Labor Council of New York, and the Trade Union Educational League of Kansas City, with a combined membership of 75,000 to 80,000 members. To facilitate the division of votes in the delegation, Delegate Dixon waived his claim to additional votes.

"(Signed) JOS. DIXON,
"Sec'y American Trade Union Delegation.

Moscow, July 5, 1921."

All of the American delegates had been in Moscow at least a month before my arrival, and consequently the work of placing the members from this delegation on various committees had been completed.

The three fellow workers whom I have already mentioned in my preliminary report as being in Moscow, had, upon my arrival, told me that they were practically ignored and withal outnumbered in the deliberations of the American delegation, and in a spirit of disgust had ceased to attend the meetings. I had some notes on this subject but they are with the other stuff that has not arrived. However, I attended a meeting of this American delegation the day after I arrived in Moscow and it was obvious from their actions that they were organized to carry out the dictates of the Communist program, and moreover, with two exceptions (Wells and Crosby) displayed a bitter antagonism against the I. W. W.

Hostility to I. W. W.

Strange to say, and harder to believe, for many in this country, there is a hostile attitude against the I. W. W. among the officials in Moscow. Some of it is due, supposedly, to Sandgren's articles in the O. B. U. Monthly. But it is my opinion that most of it comes from the fundamental differences that exist between the Communist and the Industrial theory of organization. Sandgren's name is linked merely to hide the deeper reasons. As proof of this, witness the hostile attitude maintained in Moscow against any revolutionary organization that has rejected affiliation with the Third International. One and all they are vilified. I repeat, that it is strange to say this, in remembrance of the many stories that have been told regarding the affection with which the I. W. W. were held in Moscow.

Whatever might be the individual sentiment of those on top in the Communist circles, it is certain that lower down on the scale of Moscow's officialdom one hears little praise and much abuse of everything I. W. W. It might be granted that a former favorable sentiment did exist, but the disappearance of this sentiment might be attributable to the fact that these officials are no longer in Moscow; others are in their places, which fact is significant to anyone who knows the Communist Party of Russia.

The Congress of the R. T. U. I. was conducted on the agenda plan with such additions as were appropriate and necessary to make the way of the machine as smooth as possible.

A Communist Chairman

The Chairman of the Convention can be no other than the General Secretary of the Red International, and Losovsky, who now holds that position, will be the chairman of the next one and all others as long as he suits the high priests of the Communist International. Nor will anyone else function in connection with the Red International without the approval of the Communists. The General Secretary of the Red International is elected by the Executive Bureau consisting of seven members.

These are Losovsky and Nogen, Russia; Tom Mann, England; Anton Meyer, Germany; Arlandis, Spain; Andreytchine, America. The seventh seat is vacant because of differences among the Italians and French. The members of this Executive Bureau are all Communists with the possible exception of Tom Mann who, like Andreytchine, represents nobody. This executive body is the supreme body of the Red International and its members are chosen by the Central Council, which is in turn created by each national delegation that attends the Congress, who elect from among their number their quota to the Central Council. Now as the national delegations are always assured of a majority of Communists by the system of admitting Communist minorities it is plain to see that there will never be any other but Communists in control of the Red International. Regarding the rules governing the Congress they were simple—there were none as far as I could discover. I asked about them but everybody pleaded ignorance, but by diligent observation I learned that Losovsky was the fountain head of all rules, and whatever he said could be depended upon as an established rule unless some situation, in his opinion, called for a reversal of former decisions.

The Steam Rollen

The manner of making and deciding motions deserves comment. When anyone would get up and put forth a proposition that did not agree with the views of the chairman he would immediately put his own proposition before the house, call off debate and call for a decision, thus: "Is anyone against the proposition of the chairman? No objection is noted." The first proposition is wrecked automatically.

The chairman can cut off debate any time with no more effort than a wave of the hand. Only once during the whole conference was the floor given to a delegate over the ruling of the chairman, and he consented to putting the question before the house only after the delegates showed signs of giving the floor to the delegate without his leave.

The chief difficulty in the Congress and that which was an ever present obstacle to a common understanding on any subject was the fact that very few of the delegates understood any but their own language.

English, French, German and Russian, were the official languages used. These were the four principal groups in the Congress. All the daily bulletins, and the other matter pertaining to resolutions and theses, were printed in these languages. But because of poor facilities the printed proceedings of the Congress in English were lagging far behind the others. When I left Moscow one month after the close of the Red International Congress, very little had been printed in English. However, the other languages fared better, and delegates from Russia, France and Germany were able to gather a fairly complete account of the Congress. It is worth noting too, in connection with this, that the Congress of the Third International was in session, and between the two sessions the printing establishments were swamped.

The lack of matter printed in English was an obstacle in more ways than one. It caused a very great scarcity in printed theses, reports, and resolutions which were necessary to keep in touch with the viewpoints of the delegates from other countries. Instead of waiting to hear verbal reports and catching only scraps of what was said through poor translations, a written copy should have been on hand to acquaint one with the points advanced.

As it was, it became necessary to depend on translators for all information on what was said by speakers in other lan-

guages. The function of the translators was one of the most important in the entire Congress. Upon them depended the conveyance of thoughts and ideas from one language group to another and in their hands dwelt the power to transmit correctly or incorrectly what was said. It would of course be unreasonable to suppose that a translator, however good or fair, could translate word for word, everything that was said, yet it is easy to concede that if a translator opposes the ideas of a speaker it is no trick to translate the matter entirely wrong so that those listening to his translation would get a distorted account of what was said.

An S. L. P. Translator

One of the foremost translators in the Red Congress was Boris Reinstein, who was a conspicuous member of the S. L. P. in America before going to Russia. Reinstein is opposed to anything I. W. W. He is now a prominent member of the Russian Communist Party and besides having a special dislike for the Wobblies he dislikes any other organization that does not agree with the Communist theory.

Another translator was a woman who bore the reputation of speaking fourteen languages. She acted also in the same capacity at the Congress of the Communist International. She included English in her catalogue of languages. In truth she couldn't speak enough English to match a pupil in a kindergarten.

Reinstein and other translators were compelled to function in both congresses, the Red and Communist, because of a supposed scarcity of this talent. But this was not true, as there were many in Moscow who were capable of performing this work. They were not used, however, because their views did not coincide with the powers that be. There were two translators who were apparently fair; one who was attached to the American delegation and another with the French. But Reinstein and the woman were absolutely unfair and sabotaged everything that was not in accordance with the accepted faith.

And, too, the translators translated only the important speeches and motions. Many disputes between the chair and other speaking delegates over points pertaining to the convention were left untranslated. In justice to the situation, however, it is only fair to say that it was physically impossible to translate everything; but this fact made it impossible also for me to know anything about what was transpiring. In fact, I was

at sea regarding what was happening in every language but English. And the position of the other speaking delegates, who could only understand their particular language, was the same as mine. So that nearly all the delegates were walled in by their language limitations.

Looking at the whole affair philosophically, however, it did not much matter, whether, in addition to only understanding one language you were deaf and dumb in addition, because, after all, there was only one result possible in such a Congress, stuffed as it was with Communists, and all the talking and fretting that one could easily have generated in such an atmosphere would have availed nothing. The Congress was over and decisions were made before it started.

The story of the Red International and how it was formed is still cloudy to many in America. Few people outside of the Communist Party know that the Red Trade Union International was founded by the Executive Committee of the Third International long before we ever heard of it in America. Zinoviev in his report of the Executive Committee of the Comintern to the third Congress of the Third International, says:

> *"On the initiative of our Executive Committee the Second Congress founded the Red Trade International. That was something entirely new at the time; Comrade Losovsky has collected the data showing that more than* 15,000,000 *organized workers already belong to our Trade Union International. Our first step was the publication of a manifesto against the Amsterdam International, and at this Congress we shall take another long step forward. I believe that the significance of this Trade Union Congress is clear to all of us. Our struggle against the Amsterdam International, this last bulwark of the bourgeoisie, must be fought to a finish. For that reason this is a most important question, and the Congress must devote its keenest attention to it. After the Congress, this question must be dealt with by all affiliated parties as the most important problem of the day."*

It is not without reason that Zinoviev uses the term, OUR TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL, as I will show later.

From the very first the Red International was in control of the Communists and its only function for a long time was to act as a bureau of the Comintern, a sort of a Trade Union section. Being created by the Communists, it was but natural that its

first officials would be Communists and as party members these officials could do nothing else than guide the course of the new movement according to Communist Party principles.

Hand-Picked Labor Bureaus

These selected leaders of the Red International cannot be more clearly identified, nor the source of their inspiration more plainly traced, than a comparison of their ideas with those of the Moscow politicians. Everywhere in all the theses coming from the Red International heads one sees the finger prints of the two-by-four intellectuals that constitute the center of the Third International. Indeed they are all of one political family. Losovsky is a member of the central committee of the Russian Communist Party and his foreign co-workers (at the time of the formation of the Provisional Council of Trade and Industrial Unions and even now) are all high officials in the Communist parties of their respective countries. The parentage of the Red International being thus established, it takes but little effort to see that any additions made to the R. T. U. I. would automatically pass under the control of the Communist International. In every large country immediately after the formation of the Red International, Red labor bureaus were set up, officered by Communists and financed by the Communist International. The duties of these outfits (especially before the first Congress of the Red International) were to organize a corps of Communist delegates from whatever source possible, (I have already described how minorities are created), and to keep informed about the labor movement and its attitude towards Russia. But its chief function was to dispatch enough Communist delegates to the Red International and thus insure a majority over whatever organizations decided to participate. And naturally what the New York Red Labor Bureau succeeded in doing to the American delegation was duplicated in all other countries. The New York Red Labor Bureau paid the expenses of all delegates sent over by them and besides, for those who had families, it allowed $25.00 a week for their maintenance while they were away. There is nothing so bad about this, only that it indicates that everyone sent over under such conditions no doubt had the Communist conception of labor unions well impressed on their minds. In view then of what I have said so far in this installment it is not such a startling assertion on my part when I said: "The Congress of the Red International was over and all decisions were made before it started."

The reader will have to overlook the faulty style adopted in this report of going back over ground already covered, because, depending on memory and having very few documents, I am unable to take up each phase of the situation and discuss it exhaustively. So in order to trace further the Communist control of the Congress of the R. T. U. I. I will discuss again the credential committee, as this was the last process in the pastime of manufacturing delegates out of pure wind.

The Credential Committee

I do not know how or who created the credential committee that functioned as such for the Red International. However, I do know that they were all Communists. And I know that no credential committee was ever elected from the floor of the Congress, although the election of such committee was called for. And further, no list was ever furnished containing the names of delegates present and the organizations they represented, which was also called for. The mandates of the delegates were carefully guarded from inspection and it was only after persistent demands that I was allowed a very hurried glance at the mandates of the American delegation against whom I protested. The only members of the credential committee whose names I can recollect without my notes are: Boris Reinstein, Russia; Bela Santo, Hungary; Watkins, England. While the credential committee issued no complete report, Reinstein did appear before the Congress in his capacity as secretary of the committee with decisions by that body on the disputes that arose in the different delegations over the distribution of votes, and, as these decisions are worthy of mention, if only to portray their attitude, I will quote some of them here. The following concerns the dispute between Cascaden, who was sent by the Lumber Workers of Eastern Canada, and Knight, who represented the O. B. U. of Canada:

> (Reinstein) "The case is as follows: Cascaden arrived in Moscow and presented his credentials. For unknown reasons he refused to give us any information on the attitude of his organization on the fundamental principles of the International Council of Trade Unions. In particular, he declined to give us information of the attitude of his organization with regard to the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the credentials committee, before taking the decision as to his right to a vote, again interviewed him

thereon, it became clear that HE WAS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ANARCHIST ELEMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE "ONE BIG UNION," AND THAT HE WAS INCLINED TO CONSIDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE WAY MANY OTHER ANARCHISTS DO, viz.: AS A NEW FORM OF STATE OPPRESSION.

"As a result, the credential committee decided to give Comrade Cascaden a consultative vote only.

"Some comrades of the Spanish and French delegations demanded then that Comrade Cascaden be given a decisive vote. On his part he handed in a statement in which he acknowledged the dictatorship of the proletariat as a provisional measure, but only as a dictatorship carried out by economic organizations and not by a political organization."

The credentials committee finally decided to give Cascaden a decisive vote.

What is particularly interesting in Cascaden's case is that he was first refused a vote on the grounds of suspected anarchism.

Now the credential committee is reporting on the dispute in the American delegation:

Disposing of the I. W. W.

(Reinstein) "It must be noted here that it is impossible to state with any certainty the exact membership of the I. W. W. after this organization has been in the field for 16 years. According to Williams himself his organization has from 70,000 to 100,000; but according to the figures presented at the Communist Congress and the itemized statement of the receipts of the central treasury of this organization, it has a membership of 15,000 or 16,000.

"The credential committee discussed the question and came to the conclusion that the motion made by the comrades against whom Williams protested should be carried and, with the exception of the one vote to be given to the machinists' delegates, three decisive votes be given to each one of the five American delegates. We consider this decision perfectly just."

I had pointed out before to the credential committee and the Congress that the figures from which the membership was deduced were incomplete and besides I maintained that it was

not a question of the amount of membership, but of principle. Besides, no question was ever raised concerning the financial statements of the other delegates of organizations they claimed to represent. But this fell on deaf ears, naturally.

On the German question, Reinstein gives us an insight into the situation (but not all) and it looks quite like what one would naturally expect.

(Reinstein) "As to the German question still disputed, the German delegates are, no doubt, well informed as to the facts and merits of the case. Comrade Malzan (Communist) maintains, in the name of the central committee of the trade union movement formed by the United Communist Party of Germany, that out of the total of 9,000,000 organized workers belonging to the large and so-called Free German Trade Unions, 2,200,000 side with the Red International."

The representatives of the independent unions in Germany claimed that these figures were mythical and there was no way in which they could be checked up. Yet Reinstein speaking for the committee says:

"The credentials committee heard and discussed the arguments of the representatives of both parties concerned and finally decided that it would be more equitable and adapted to the interest of trade unions to grant 11 votes to the representation of the central committee (Communist minority) of the trade union movement, directing the activities among the massed trade unions of Germany and distribute the remaining 5 votes among the representatives of the independent opposition to the trade unions."

As a Communist clincher to the German dispute, Richard Muller (Communist) said:

"A ballot carried in the trade unions in favor of the United Communist Party of Germany, in other words for Moscow, gives the following figures:

"The Agricultural Workers' union, 150,000; the Bricklayers and Builders, 150,000; the Wood Workers, 300,000; the Transport and Communication Workers, 275,000; the Needle Workers, 96,000; the Factory Workers, 60,000."

Communist Arithmetic

The truth of the whole matter is that no such vote was taken except in a few isolated unions and even then it was not a clear cut vote. It concerned Amsterdam and naturally those who did not favor Amsterdam were immediately seized on by the United Communist Party as the property of Moscow. And the 2,000,000 workers which the German Communists number as theirs was arrived at by the simple process of multiplying the few votes in the scattered unions by the whole German labor movement. Anybody who knows anything about the German labor movement will agree that if the so-called central committee of the German trade union movement had 2,000,000 members they would bust the conservative unions wide open in that country. They would have undisputed control.

But there was no disputing the credential committee because the majorities they were instrumental in creating would certainly uphold them.

The position of the Spanish delegation regarding the distribution of votes was descriptive of the general sentiment amongst the Syndicalist and Industrialist delegations and sums up their objection to the credential committee decisions. It is as follows:

The Spanish Protest

"The Spanish delegation believes that the present Congress in Moscow is a Constituent Congress of all revolutionary labor organizations; especially of those organizations which have from the very beginning of the Russian revolution and, to a certain extent, before it, fought the reformist policy of the Amsterdam International. We think the history of the European and American trade union movement indicates that there are organized forces which must be reckoned with especially at the Constituent Congress of the Red International. We think that the history of the Spanish proletariat, which during all these years was true to its revolutionary platform, that the history of the French proletariat, whose principles were always based on the independence of the trade union movement and the fight against all political parties, and which strove towards a labor policy of economic struggle; that the history of the American proletariat, the I. W. W., which has always supported the very same ideas and tactics as put forward by the revolutionary proletariat

of Europe—we think that all these elements should be granted a sufficient number of votes to make their influence effective.

"We must include the revolutionary minority of Holland and other revolutionary minorities (I speak from the Syndicalist point of view) which represent already a most imposing force. In Germany we have to add three such organizations, which breaking off from Amsterdam have now against the latter a strong body of 400,000 men. We expected that all this would be taken into consideration by the Constituent Congress of Red Trade Unions; but our expectations were disappointed. We find that a decision was already accepted here to create a majority, which we may already call the fictitious majority. There is, thus, a feeling that there is a readiness to suppress the true revolutionary tendencies of International Syndicalism and give our Trade Union International orders which a part of the west European proletariat will not accept, whatever the decisions of this Congress. On the other hand here are present countries in which there are no revolutionary Syndicalist organizations at all, or of little influence. And all these organizations were given decisive votes.

"In other countries, such as America, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia, where the trade union centers are not yet in favor of the Moscow International and are still remaining partisans of the Amsterdam International, and only a small number of nuclei adheres to Moscow, these nuclei, which are even unable to give the number of members they are representing, pretend to have a majority of votes within the delegations of these countries. It is said that the German nuclei are given the same 16 decisive votes as are given to the large organizations of France and Spain. It is, therefore, our opinion, that the first place should not belong to these nuclei which, as Comrade Williams pointed out, can easily present themselves with doubtful millions of votes, but to those organizations which by their past, by their tactics and by their everyday struggle represent, from a Syndicalist point of view, a real revolutionary power.

"We declare that such countries as Azerbeidjan, Bukhara, Palestine, India, represented here, and about whose trade union movement we are unable to judge, should not be given a decisive vote in order that the western proletariat which, even according to Marxian theories, represented for

many years past a revolutionary force, should have the possibility of defining the orientation to be adopted by the organizations affiliated to the International of Trade Unions. That is why those who signed this declaration portest against a decisive vote being given to the countries mentioned previous to their having supplied data on the character and force of their organizations."

I will wind up the discussion on the credential committee controversy by explaining as briefly as possible how the countries were grouped into vote allotments.

In the first group having 16 votes were: Germany, France, England, Russia, United States, Italy, Spain, Poland and Eastern Galicia, and Czecho-Slovakia.

In the second group with 12 votes each were Australia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, Ukraine, Norway, Australia, Argentina.

In the third group with 8 votes each were Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Roumania, Ireland (no Irish delegate present), Canada, Mexico, Greece, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Far Eastern Republic, Azerbeidjan.

In the fourth group with 4 votes each such countries as Latvia, Korea, India, Palestine and Esthonia.

In the following countries only Communist minorities were present: Russia, Italy, Poland, Eastern Galica, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Australia, Belgium, Switzerland, Roumania, Greece, Finland, Latvia, Korea, India, Palestine and Esthonia. In countries, like the United States, England, Germany and France and all others not placed by me in the class as having complete Communist minorities, these delegations were controlled by the Communist delegates or in other words the Communists had the majority of votes. Spain is the only country that was not controlled by Communist minorities.

C. P. Rules Russian Unions

I have mentioned Russia as being in the class of having only Communist minorities, because it is a fact beyond successful contradiction that the Russian unions are completely under the control of the Russian Communist Party. Its officials are all party members who are not elected by the rank and file, but are selected by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia. I place Italy in the same position, because the delegates from the Syndicalist organizations in that country did not

appear in Moscow until the end of the Congress, and during the sessions only one delegate was present who represented the so-called Communist minorities in the conservative unions of Italy. Representatives of Italian conservative unions did appear but did not participate in the Congress; Australia too, because no delegates from labor organizations arrived in time to participate in the Congress (those who sat in the Congress were admittedly representing the nuclei); Finland, because its delegates were permanent residents of Russia, all Communists and hadn't been in Finland for some time. One of the Finnish delegates was Laukki, a member of the I. W. W. and one of the Chicago defendants.

The delegation of England was controlled by the Communists absolutely. There was a pretense of using the old Shop Stewards movement as a camouflage for some of the delegates but everyone knows that the Shop Stewards movement has been liquidated into the Communist Party of England, with the result that the organization has practically disappeared from the field. A fitting testimonial of what politicians will do to a movement!

That is all there is to say about the delegations. It is not much but it is as much as any individual delegate knows about their makeup. The whole dark secret of what organization each individual present as a delegate represented in documentary form is in the hands of the officials of the Red International, and will never be produced or printed for the examination of everybody concerned.

There were several points of division between the Communist majority and the Syndicalist minority at the Congress. Old differences reappeared that have always existed, and perhaps always will continue to divide the adherents of political and industrial theory; although this time it appears in new roles, bears new names, and is set in the scenery of revolutionary, Russia. But the controversy was as sharp and as irreconcilable as before. It split the First International and everything else. It is still the question:

The Basic Difference

"Is the industrial movement as a weapon, sufficient to overthrow capitalism and establish a Workers' Industrial Commonwealth, or is this function only possible through the direction of a political machine?"

Disputes on the "dictatorship of the proletariat," relations

with the Communist International and the policy of boring from within the conservative trade unions were all bound up in the above question.

There was an underground current manifested against the Moscow interpretation of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" among the Syndicalist element which revealed itself by their insistence in describing their position as: "The dictatorship by the proletariat through their economic organizations." The reason for this difference is plain. The Russian version means the supremacy of the political group over the industrial group. The Syndicalist version means the supremacy of the economic organizations over the political organizations. And the whole thing (putting it plainly) means that the two ideas cannot exist side by side. One or the other must go.

The question of the relations with the Communist International also brought into a sharp conflict the opposing elements. According to the Communist element the Red International must place itself under the ideological guidance of the Third International because they are the intelligent fighting vanguard of the revolution. The Syndicalists maintained that the Red International must be absolutely independent of any political group and left unencumbered to pursue their own policy of building up revolutionary economic organizations for the construction of the New Society. This question also revealed the utter impossibility of agreeing and the question is as unsettled today as it was before the Congress.

The question of "boring from within the old trade unions" and an abandonment of the policy of setting up revolutionary organizations outside of, and independent of the conservative trade unions, was the point on which the sharpest debates arose, and on which the Congress divided itself into two irreconcilable camps with no hope of agreement. The policy of one meant the death of the other. In brief the Communist policy means that all independent organizations of any country that have opposed the larger conservative unions on the field of labor must liquidate into the conservative unions and by carrying on a systematic campaign capture these conservative unions. (I will discuss this together with the relations to the Third International later.) The Syndicalists opposed this energetically on the ground that it was impossible to capture the conservative unions, and moreover, they objected to destroying themselves and abandoning the field to the politicians.

There was but one result to a congress that separated itself so distinctly into two groups, and as the Communists had the majority in the open session of the Congress, the Syndicalists naturally took to closed sessions of their own. And during the last days of the Congress and those immediately following, the Syndicalist delegates, including myself, held meetings in a hotel room every night, in an endeavor to formulate a program, and arrive at a common understanding as to what should be done in the face of their hopeless situation.

The majority of the Syndicalist delegates were actuated into holding minority conferences by the extreme necessity of clarifying their position. But while the minority Syndicalists were reluctant to adopt opposition methods, yet they were literally forced to at least make an attempt to check what was evidently a deliberate sabotage on the formation of an economic International by the Communists. It was along towards the end of the Congress before any attempt was made to bring the Syndicalists together, and only two meetings were held before adjournment. Several were held after.

The position in which the Syndicalists found themselves was one that called for action. The Communist element in the Congress, besides being bent on adopting a program that would destroy the smaller revolutionary labor bodies and place the Red International under the complete domination of the Third International, were advertising to the world that an unanimous opinion prevailed in the Congress on all points of discussion. The only way in which the Syndicalist opposition could extricate itself from this false position was to hold conferences and define their program to the various revolutionary labor bodies of the world.

These conferences were not productive of much results, for many reasons. There was the difficulty of language, which made it almost impossible to understand one another. It was hard to get translators and what few were available could not always function. Very often we found ourselves without the aid of any translators.

Besides the difficulties of language there was a divergence of opinion among the delegates on what stand to take. Some (before the adjournment of the Congress) were in favor of immediately withdrawing from the sessions as a protest against the steam roller methods of the Communist Party. They argued that it was useless to stay, indulging in hopeless debate and

always in the presence of inevitable defeat. Others maintained that the right course would be to stay in the Congress and oppose the Communist majority as an organized minority. Later, after the Congress, several conferences were held in an endeavor to reach an agreement before the delegates left, but, while several statements were drawn up and signed by everyone, it was found impossible to agree on a definite line of action. Of course, this was natural because participation in minority conferences outside of the regular sessions of the Congress was a thing that was entirely unlooked for and none of the Syndicalist delegates had power to act for their organizations in a case of this kind, consequently none of the delegates were willing to commit themselves to anything specific. But I will state here that every delegate that did participate in the conferences was strictly opposed to the tactics and the procedure of the Communist majority. The whole story of the minority conferences with its many hours of debate is too long to go into here in detail, and besides much of it is unimportant to the issue. Therefore I only intend to deal with the salient points. The end of the Congress caused many of the Syndicalist delegates to leave before anything could be decided upon, and left the remaining delegates still more uncertain about adopting a definite program.

Two Propositions

Considering the whole proceedings of the Syndicalist conferences the main points in the discussions were, basically, the two following positions:

First: "To renounce entirely the R. T. U. I. as an economic International because it was completely under the control of the Third International, and issue a call for a new International."

Second: "That while it was true that the First Congress of the Red International was dominated by the Communists it was not the proper procedure to withdraw from the R. T. U. I. and endeavor to set up a new International. It would be better to remain within it and by a well organized minority fight against the control of the political faction."

Those who supported the second proposition argued that an attempt to call a new International would result in creating a great deal of confusion in the revolutionary labor situation, which would manifest itself in great controversies that would occasion irreparable damages to the movement to internationalize

labor. Better, the supporters of the second proposition said, to stay within the R. T. U. I. with its Communist control and fight them there than to enter upon a long period of organizing another International. The psychological influence of Moscow on the world's workers was such that an opposition now would gain no support. In short, while an economic International, free from political control, was most desirable it was not the opportune time to broach new Internationals.

Those who supported the first proposition (including myself) said that it was useless to even try and fight the prevailing majority of Communists by staying inside the R. T. U. I. because the Communists would always be assured of control by the simple expedient of seating enough of their delegates to outnumber whatever Syndicalists appeared on the scene. As long as Moscow was the place where the congress convened and where the headquarters of the Red International stayed, just so long would they dominate the Congress. In view of the situation then, it would be useless to suppose that the majority in the Congress would be decided by a discussion on principles. Those who controlled the machinery of the Congress would control its deliberations. And, as for the calling of another International it is certain that those who intended to stay in the R. T. U. I. and obey its mandates would be cutting their own throats by dissolving into the conservative trade unions of their respective countries (which of course they wouldn't do) and would find themselves later on ousted anyway. So, obviously, a new International was needed to at least preserve the autonomy of the existing organizations not to mention the impossibility of surrendering the control of all the revolutionary labor organizations into the hands of a political faction.

Those who supported the second proposition were in most part the delegates of the larger Syndicalist organizations, like Spain, France and Italy. (The Italian delegates from the Syndicalist organization of Italy arrived in Moscow after the close of the Congress.) Their view of the Communist program was that they could not be forced into liquidation with any conservative union because of the conditions that were peculiar to heir particular countries. In Spain, the Syndicalists, although driven underground at present, were the largest and most powerful body in that country, therefore the Communist attitude, as for instance towards the I. W. W. or the smaller German unions, was not applicable to them. In France the situation was still different. There the Syndicalists were or-

ganized already as a minority in the C. G. T. and were closely linked with the Communists in a three cornered fight or control of that body. In Italy although there is a powerful conservative body, yet the Syndicalists are nearly as strong, having 700,000 members. They are too strong to pay any attention to the policy of joining the conservative trade unions. ndeed the Communists steer clear of any discussion of their abor policy as applied to Italy.

The situation of Italy, France and Spain therefore was such that they participated in the Syndicalist conferences with only one problem confronting them. This was the question of political domination over the R. T. U. I. But their mandates called for an International free from political influence. And from that standpoint they supported the second proposition.

The supporters of the first proposition were the delegates from smaller Syndicalist unions of Germany, Sweden, Norway, Holland, America, etc.; and as I have intimated before their position was determined by more than a mere consideration of affiliation with a political party, but also from a standpoint of self-preservation.

The Communists, of course, in touch with the situation as explained above, in true political style set out to disrupt and split the Syndicalist faction. Persuasive emissaries from the other side worked hard on the Spanish, French and Italian delegates of the Syndicalist unions.

The Spanish Position

The position of the Spanish delegates was a peculiar one and deserves a word of explanation. The Spanish Syndicalist unions are in a death struggle with the reactionary forces of that country and as a consequence have been driven underground. It is impossible for the members of the Spanish Syndicalist unions to hold any meetings, or, for any kind of representative body to meet and consider the Red International in any way. It is impossible too for the Spanish delegates who were present at the congress of the Red International to return to Spain and make a report to anyone for fear of arrest. And to this day two of them, Arlandis and Nin, have not returned to that country. Here again the Communists have exploited the situation to further their political schemes in characteristic style. A mysterious committee somewhere in Spain sends approval (or at least it is so reported in Communist circles) of the

R. T. U. I. and it is heralded as the approval of the whole Spanish Syndicalist movement. Several Spanish delegates whom I have met in Berlin deny that this unknown committee has power to act in the way it did and have denounced it as a rame-up to stampede the Syndicalists of Europe. This cerainly appears logical in view of the single fact that no report from the delegates had ever reached Spain.

The French wavered but little and the Italians stood pat. Their evident intention was to capture the Spanish, French and Italian delegates and then force the rest of the delegates to abandon their position. But their tactless attempts, whatever heir results, have still left them to undergo the microscopic examination of the world's workers. And they have nothing to face the ordeal with.

The result of all the conferences was three statements, all varying in opinion, but which after all was all that could be expected at that time. I herewith offer a resolution drawn up by the German unions, and read with great indignation by Losovsky, as though it was the height of treason to indulge in such views. This resolution by the Germans was signed only by themselves. It is interesting here only because it shows the attitude of the German delegates, expressed even before they knew who agreed with them on the proposition and before any conferences were held among the Syndicalists.

The Germans' Statement

"To the representatives of independent revolutionary organizations of every country to the first Congress of the Red Trade and Industrial Union International, who have been forced into a minority.

"Comrades:

"The revolutionary unions of the whole world find themselves at the mercy of a dependent, uncontrollable minority, coming from within unions affiliated with Amsterdam, both ideologically and organically, and who now constitute the majority in this Congress.

"All decisions so far made in this Congress have been made at the dictates of those (Communist) minority groups. All coming decisions will naturally be of the same character.

"Our organizations have thus already been deprived of our right within this International. We are subject to the bidding of the Third International and also subject to the bidding of

those who with their finances and numbers make up and strengthen the influence of the Amsterdam International.

"This subjection amounts to nothing more or less than that our organizations must give up their independence to a national and international Mass Staff. It is even demanded that our organizations disband. It is demanded that revolutionary organizations dig their own grave.

"We find it necessary to protest most energetically and in a closed phalanx against such aims.

"The welfare of the international labor movement does not require an International composed of nuclei and groups, but an International of self-supporting independent organizations.

"In case the revolution would not be served by our opposition being without results here and since another international grouping of independent unions outside of the Red Trade Union International would mean a further split of the labor movement, we do not proceed to such steps before every means have been exhausted in making our influence felt against the present character of the Red Trade Union International; and further because of the fact that the Red International being dominated by cell groups makes it a farce;

"Therefore be it resolved,

"The unions which constitute the opposition in this Congress form a united group as to purposes inside the Red Trade Union International with the aim of working together in close solidarity in case the leadership of the Red Trade Union International should expel one or the other of the organizations holding these views or otherwise exert its authority.

"The aim and purpose of our opposition shall be to transform the fictitious Red Trade Union International into a real International and to fight against all reformist, opportunist and other tendencies inimical to the movement, and to provide for its practical revolutionary character.

"For the welfare of the labor movement of the whole world we invite all delegates to join with us.

"Freie Arbeiter Union (Felsenkirchen), Allgemeine Arbeiterunion Deutschlands, Deutscher Shiffahrtsbund.
"Moscow, 14th July, 1921."

There were three other resolutions drawn up by the minority conferences of which I have two for use in this report. The one quoted below is the last resolution adopted and is signed

by most of the delegates that attended the conferences. It was drawn up by a Frenchman and translated from that language. It is of a rather ambiguous nature and not so strong and definite as the preceding ones which were emphatic in their stand against the Third International.

This resolution reads as follows:

A CALL TO THE REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISTS OF THE WORLD

"Being gathered in Moscow, after the closing of the Red Labor International Congress, we—the representatives of the revolutionary Syndicalist minority—agreed to form the left wing of the labor movement, organized on Syndicalist principles. The need of such action has not only made itself felt, but has become imperative for numerous reasons which we shall try to explain in all frankness.

"The world, shaken to its foundations by economic and political factors, is now passing through a most critical moment. Like one doomed to death and wildly clutching at life, capitalism is making desperate efforts to prolong its existence. In every country of the world, the proletariat is becoming ever more conscious of its rights and is beginning to realize its historic mission. The end of the 19th century witnessed the miraculous growth of capitalism, which—thanks to industrial success—concentrated hundreds of thousands, even millions of workers in their class organizations, in syndicats. The old forms of struggle, the struggle of political parties, proved themselves insufficient in proportion as industrial development grew day by day; it became ever clearer to the laboring masses that they must organize themselves into their own labor bodies—the syndicats. The beginning of the 20th century witnesses the growth of this class movement, which ever more clearly begins to realize its economic and political role. This class movement grows beyond the limits of pure and simple unionism; the syndicats are transformed into fighting labor organizations aiming at the abolition of the wage system. That becomes their economic problem. And the introduction of Communism their political aim.

"From this results the antagonism between the old political forms and the working class movement which is henceforth developing in the labor organizations, i.e. the syndicats. The conflicts which manifested themselves in the First International along ideologic lines, are now transferred into the

field of facts, because of the industrial development. Not wishing in the least to interfere with the liberty of any individuals to form their political groups, nor with the liberty of action of any party, we demand the equal and just right to organize ourselves along Syndicalist lines, in our class organizations. We demand the acknowledgment of the right of these organizations to carry on their struggle for their two-fold aim: complete economic and political liberation, by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the transition period, as is already being practiced by political parties. We left the Amsterdam International and are fighting against it for the very reason that there we found co-operation of the classes, which is in itself a denial of our program; and also because the political parties dominate there and seek, as always, to subject to themselves the working class. These are the causes which rallied us all around the red banner of Moscow, the symbol of the proletarian revolution which has always been our final aim.

"But in Moscow we meet again the tendency of political parties—and however noble and exalted their aims in comparison with the Social Democracy of Amsterdam, yet it is entirely incorrect and not to be permitted that political tendencies secure to themselves exclusive hegemony over the fighting labor organizations which have grown from the masses themselves and have been created by them.

"Considering such pretensions not only theoretically unjust and practically unreliable, but also fatal to the best interests of the working class which alone can secure its emancipation, we found it necessary to combine on the basis of this principle of revolutionary Syndicalism, in the new Red Labor International. Our aim is to fight energetically along these lines for the interests of the working class against every attempt at domination by any political parties, be they even of the best.

"The working class, organized syndicalistically, considers itself thoroughly capable to manage its own affairs; it declares that it knows its interests and that it will be able zealously to guard its independence and autonomy.

"Our work and our tactics in the Red Labor International must consist in constantly and energetically defending—in the above indicated spirit—the basic principles of revolutionary Syndicalism, and in fighting at every step every attempt to pervert these principles.

"With this purpose and aim in view, we are hereby forming the Association of all the revolutionary Syndicalist elements of the world, represented by the following groups:

"Italian Syndicalist Union—700,000 members.
"National Confederation of Spain—900,000 members.
"Confederat. Revol. Syndic. of France—400,000 members.
"I. W. W. of America—75,000 members.
"Central Labor Organization of Sweden—35,000 members.
"General Labor Union (Germany)—100,000 members.
"Free Labor Union (Gelsenkirchen)—150,000 members.
"Free Association of Farm Laborers—30,000 members.
"Association of Manual and Brain Workers—13,500 members.
"German Marine Workers—6,000 members.
"Federalist Association of Denmark—10,000 members.
"Workers' Federation of Argentina and Uruguay—300,000 members.
"Holland National Labor Central—40,000 members.
"Syndicalist Federation of Norway—2,000 members.
"Canada—13,000 members.

"A Bureau has been elected with secretaries whose headquarters will be in Paris. Its work will be to serve as the connecting link between the above named organizations; exchange information; take the initiative in arranging conferences; and to organize energetic propaganda in all the countries involved on the basis of this manifesto."

I shall also give another of the resolutions which has just been received by me and was the first one adopted. It has gone through the process of being translated twice, from French to Swedish and then into English, and consequently has lost some of its original tone. There is noticeable, however, in all these resolutions adopted by the Syndicalists a very tolerant attitude in a situation that called for drastic action. I have pointed out before that opinion was somewhat divided among the Syndicalists and therefore it was but natural that those who composed the resolutions, having this in mind, were trying to please everybody. Then too it must be understood that very few among the signers of a resolution knew just exactly what was set down. A resolution written in French, for instance, would only be intelligible to the French delegates and the others would only know in a general way what the resolution

contained. Those in English and German would present the same difficulties to those who could not read those languages and consequently the ambiguity of the resolutions offered here must be considered from that standpoint. None of them, however, but what are unvarying in their stand against political domination.

Syndicalist Manifesto

The following resolution was likewise signed by everyone present:

"A manifesto to the revolutionary Syndicalists of the world.

"After the congress of the Red Trade Union International, we, revolutionary Syndicalists, being the minority in the Red Trade Union International, have found it necessary to meet in a conference, in order to gather on the platform of revolutionary Syndicalism, the organized economic labor movement which is a part of—or in principle belongs to—the R. T. U. I.

"Although a minority at the constituent congress of the R. T. U. I., on account of a representation which deviates from true forms of representation for a trade union movement, we wish to state that we believe, due to the spirit that actuates us and the form of the organizations we represent, that the real power of the workers and their living expression are the really live economic organizations, through which alone the R. T. U. I. shall become what it ought to be: an active and actual power.

"Without desiring to minimize the power and the prestige of the Communist International in regard to the parties composing it, we have the deepest conviction that the power and prestige of the R. T. U. I. will not be increased but, on the contrary, decreased if it stands under the moral influence of the Third International or is subordinated to it.

"Partly for this reason, partly for other reasons which we will openly explain, it is absolutely necessary that we create a defense organization of elements within—and for the moment even outside of—the R. T. U. I., in order to thus battle for complete independence of and complete autonomy from every political organization.

"Our consciousness of our historic role tells us, and our consciousness of our capacity for achievement in Western Europe and America confirms it, that only the economic organizations of the workers will survive capitalism, that only they can make a real social revolution, that only they can

definitely organize a new society, based on the producers, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has its foundation in the trade unions.

"And these are the causes.

"The world is shaken by economic and political convulsions and is going through a most serious crisis. With the wild energy of a dying person who clings to life, capitalism is making desperate efforts to prolong its existence. In all countries the proletariat is rising, more and more conscious of its rights and the historic role it has to play. The 19th century has seen a tremendous development of capitalism which, in direct touch with industrial development, has gathered hundreds of thousands and millions of workers in the class organizations, the trade unions.

"The old forms of the struggle, the party struggle, already then proved to be insufficient and, as the class struggle became more pointed due to a quickened industrial development, the necessity was emphasized for the working class to form their party, the party of labor, in its proper organization, the trade union movement. The 20th century saw this form of the class struggle aggrandized and becoming conscious of its power, of its political and economic role, and more and more stepping over the lines of craft organization, and thus the trade unions have been transformed into a militant organization for abolition of wage slavery and for the realization of Communism. In this fact we see an antagonism between the antiquated form of the politics of old and the labor movement which is organized in class organizations, that is, in trade unions. The opposition from the First International, when it only wished to manifest itself on the ideological field, finds itself today transferred to the field of reality, due to economic development. Without desiring in any manner to encroach upon the liberties of those who have grouped themselves in political parties or upon the complete freedom of movement of those parties, we claim for ourselves the no less inviolable right to constitute ourselves as labor unions in accordance with the outlines of economic life. In our class organizations and through them we conduct our struggle for the realization of our double purpose: complete economic and poltical emancipation, by organizing, during the period of transition, the dictatorship of the proletariat, expressed through and exercised by the economic organizations.

"When we left the Amsterdam International and combatted

it, it was not only because we there found expressed the principle of co-operation between the classes, which is a negation of our historic mission and our program, but also on account of the dominating influence of the political parties, who have always been anxious to subdue the working class. It is exactly for this double reason that we have gathered round the red flag of Moscow, which symbolizes the proletarian revolution, which has always been our final aim. But in Moscow we have again been able to point to the existence of the same tendencies from the political parties for a purpose, which may be nobler and higher than that which social-democracy in Amsterdam strives for, but which, nevertheless, in our eyes remains fundamentally wrong and unacceptable, namely the conquest of an indisputable hegemony over the fighting organizations formed inside the working class itself and through the working class.

"Considering that the practical results of such pretensions—besides being impossible to theoretically excuse—would be fatal to the working class, which in reality is alone capable of achieving its emancipation, we have found it necessary to closely join one another on the basis of revolutionary Syndicalism, but inside the frame of the Red Trade Union International, in order to fight resolutely on this field for, and defend the fundamental interests of the working class against every encroachment from any political party, even if that party may be the best.

"The working class organized on the economic field feels of age, proclaims its self-sufficiency, and guards jealously its independence and its autonomy. But in order to carry out the grand work which it today feels called upon to perform, it consents to ally itself with every political party, and, for the rest, with every philosophical group which declares itself ready to work in a revolutionary manner. Our work and our tactics inside as well as outside the R. T. U. I. consist in defending, at all times and with energy, in the spirit expressed above, the fundamental principles of revolutionary Syndicalism, and step by step combat every deformation which it is tried to subject it to. For this purpose we have to unite all revolutionary Syndicalist elements inside the R. T. U. I., represented by the following organizations:

"I. W. W., Geo. Williams; Italian Syndicalist Union, Duilio Mari; A. A. U. (Germany), Bartells; Frei Land Arbeiter and German Sailors' Union, Otto Rieger; National Confederacion of Labor, Spain, Joaquin Maurin; Norway, Sweden and Denmark Syndicalist Unions, Frans Severin; Regional Federation of Labor for Argentina and Uruguay, Tom Barker; Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee (France), Michel Relenque.

"We have charged the Syndicalist Union of Italy with the task of securing the connections between all these elements and take the initiative to communication and organization of a conference and an energetic propaganda on the basis of this manifesto in the respective countries.

"Adopted by the Secretariat of the Constituent Bureau."

The discussion on the Syndicalist conferences can be summarized partly in the following fashion, as the following considerations are but the natural results of that situation. The fact that these Syndicalist conferences were held immediately gives birth to the two questions:

Which Theory Is Right?

(1) What was wrong with the R. T. U. I. Congress (from an I. W. W. standpoint) that the Syndicalists should separate themselves from the other elements in the Congress?

(2) If these two groups are divided on fundamental differences what measure of right and wrong can be applied (from a revolutionary standpoint) to the dispute by the workers throughout the world? Either the Communist political theory or the industrial theory is right. Between the two there must be a selection.

In my opinion the industrialist theory is all the more strengthened by the mere fact that such a great number of Syndicalist delegates have gone to Russia; have looked into the very heart of the situation there: studied the Russian revolution closely, and yet they combat, in Moscow itself, the very theory that dominates the Russian revolution in its present stage, viz.; the Communist political theory. If the Russian revolution is the criterion on which the Communists base their theory, then they have punctured their own arguments by not having in Russia a single fact which could be used to refute the industrial theory. Therefore it is worth noting that the industrialist theory is argued for as vehemently in Moscow as in capitalist countries, which proves that no revolutionary economic organization can ever accept domination by a political party regardless of what revolutionary disguise it is parading under. I have the happy memory of being told by

scores and scores of workers during my stay in Russia, many of them former members of the I. W. W. in England and America, and too, practically all of them in Russia since the first days of the revolution, that the I. W. W. position has proven itself correct to them by their experiences in Russia.

I have devoted more attention to the minority conferences than might seem necessary, but I have gone into this phase not because there was anything of importance attached to the results but only to give the members of the I. W. W. an idea of the tendencies that prevailed in the Congress, and having this in their minds they can more easily interpret the final results of the Red International Congress. And also, to show that the opposition to the domination of the political sect was emphatic and not confined to myself. Every revolutionary Syndicalist organization demanded an independent economic International. They didn't get it. That much I think has been proven already, even if nothing more were said. I have pointed out that the split between the two factions was a decided one. The minority conferences, therefore, were not without their good function of indicating the inerasable line of demarcation that separated the two groups. Besides I think that it has laid the foundation for an honest-to-goodness International because we now know where everybody else stands in the revolutionary labor movement regarding political parties.

"Resolutions and Decisions"

I now pass on to a discussion of "Resolutions and Decisions" adopted at the First Congress of the Red International. They are remarkably few for such an important Congress, and, too, are strangely devoid of anything that could be regarded as fitting fundamentals to such an important enterprise as an International of Revolutionary Unions. Indeed it seems to me, that the whole set of resolutions are nothing but silly tirades against the leaders of Amsterdam and the leaders of the various conservative trade unions in the different countries. But if it reveals nothing of importance for the foundation of an economic International it at least gives a good conception of the motives of the authors of each resolution. Even a superficial study of these "Resolutions and Decisions" will show that but one thought dominates every printed sentence: *Power. "Oust the Amsterdam leaders," "Throw out the Gomperses, the Jouhauxs, the Thomases, capture their unions and bring them to Moscow. Turn*

them over to us, we will then lead you to victory," as though the elimination of some particular leaders were the only problem confronting the workers. It is the old moss-eaten philosophy of leadership again.

To get a good idea of the psychology that dominated the Communists who control the Red International, the Manifesto of the Congress to the workers of the world is as good a measuring stick as any. This manifesto, coming as it did from a Congress of International revolutionary labor unions, would certainly be expected by everybody to contain an important message to the world's workers. But what does it say? It starts out about "the criminal war" and touches on every wrong under the sun that is suffered by the working class, preparing the reader seemingly for a solution to the whole problem. It then asks in the middle of the article:

"What is to be done?"

Apparently all the author could think of or at least all I could find is embodied in the following extracts:

"What are doing the *leaders of Amsterdam?*" ... "Let the indignant cry of the proletariat call out one single watchword: *down with the yellow Amsterdam International!*"... "Get rid of the *yellow treacherous leaders* selling the cause of the working class." "A new epoch of glorious struggles has begun, when the proletariat becomes worthy *of better leaders* than the scabs of Amsterdam." (Get this!)—"The new leaders will know how to defend the proletarian trenches and will take the offensive."

Not a word here that indicates anything but a change of leaders. Of course the question of throwing out the yellow leaders of the "yellow unions" suggests new leaders, and who would even imagine that any Communist would be so immodest as to offer himself to lead the workers to economic freedom? I ask this question for the benefit of those who perhaps have never appreciated the leadership qualities that exist in, and are peculiar to Moscow. Yes, Moscow has leaders for any kind of unions, from those unions that don't exist, to those about to be formed. In short, a full equipment for the business of leadership exists in Moscow, and only waits for the necessary organizations to which these self-proved leaders can attach themselves. And naturally, in all other Theses, Resolutions or Decisions, this dominating idea "leadership" is the basis of all discussion. It is repeated over and over again in every article, until reading such "theses" becomes a monotonous study of

repeated phrases. Every member of the I. W. W. should get a copy of these "Resolutions and Decisions," if possible. It is a study in the dilapidated dogma of pure leadership, but splashed over with a brand new coat of red paint.

There were only three matters adopted in the Congress that are worthy of any consideration here: "The Question of Tactics," "Resolution on the Question of Relations between the Red Labor Union International and the Communist International," and the "Constitution." There were other things considered, but dealing as they did with superannuated topics are important to nobody but the author, who perhaps, got a kick out of exercising his peculiar talent for ambiguity. It is not my intention to get comical over a serious subject, yet one must counteract such bloodthirsty tirades with a relaxed mind, otherwise he will take the question of conservative labor leaders so seriously as to be drawn into an argument as to whether they should be dynamited, or run into a machine gun trap.

Our sole consideration here is the machinery that was set up to create and operate the Red International (from an I. W. W. standpoint).

Relations with Communist International

The "Resolutions on the Relations with the Communist International" are somewhat misleading because they say nothing about the actual relations of these two bodies. But in the "Constitution of the Red International of Labor Unions" this point is settled. This being the case I will only reprint them here with the request to the membership to carefully study the last paragraph about "Contact between Red Labor Unions and the Communist Parties."

"RESOLUTION on the Question of Relations between the Red Labor Union International and the Communist International.

"(On the report of comrades Rosmer and Tom Mann).

"Whereas the struggle between labor and capital in all capitalist countries has assumed, as a result of the world war and crisis, an exceptionally acute, implacable and decisive character,

"Whereas in the process of this everyday struggle the laboring masses realize ever more clearly the necessity of eliminat-

ing the bourgeoisie from administration of industry and consequently from political power,

"Whereas the above result can be obtained solely by establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a Communist system,

"Whereas in the struggle to preserve the bourgeois dictatorship, all the capitalist ruling classes have already succeeded in consolidating and concentrating to a high degree their national and international organizations, political as well as economic, in a solid front of all the bourgeois forces, both defensive and offensive against the onrush of the proletariat,

"Whereas the logic of the modern class struggle demands the greater consolidation of the proletarian forces and the revolutionary struggle and consequently means that there must be the closest contact and organic connection between the different forms of the revolutionary labor movement and primarily between the Third Communist International and the Red Labor Union International it is also desirable that every effort should be made, in the national field, towards the establishment of similar relations between the Communist parties and the Red International of Labor Unions;

"Therefore the Congress resolves:

"1. To take all steps for uniting together in the most energetic manner all the labor unions in one united fighting organization with one direct international center—the Red International of Labor Unions.

"2. To establish the closest possible contact with the Third Communist International as the vanguard of the revolutionary labor movement in all the parts of the world on the basis of joint representation at both Executive Committees, joint conferences, etc.

"3. That the above connection should have an organic and business character and be expressed in the joint preparation of pre-revolutionary action and in the concerted manner in which it could be carried out on a national and international scale.

"4. That it is imperative for every country to strive towards uniting the revolutionary labor union organizations and the establishment of the closest contact between the red labor unions

and the Communist parties for the carrying out of the decisions of both congresses."

There was a resolution on the Italian question the discussion of which took up two days' sessions. The gist of the affair is that the leaders of the General Confederation of Labor in Italy (this is the conservative union that belongs to Amsterdam and not to be confused with the Syndicalist union) had at one time promised to join the Red International but have still remained on the outside. The resolution on the so-called Italian question was therefore a condemnation of the leaders in the Italian conservative unions for their seeming duplicity. According to the time taken this should rank as the most important question. It took just twice as long to settle this quarrel as it did the other resolutions.

Resolutions on Organization

The "Resolutions on Organization" were the issue on which the opposing factions in the Congress indulged in the most heated debate. This resolution comprises the "boring from within" theory, a policy by which the Communists have such fond hopes of capturing the conservative labor unions. The whole philosophy of "boring from within" has sprung from one desire: leadership and power.

Take away the idea of controlling all labor unions from a center in Moscow and the whole theory falls as flat as a pancake. And, too, it is from this philosophy of leadership that the extreme antagonism towards the Syndicalists and the I. W. W. springs. Losovsky indicates this clearly in his theses on "Tactics" when he says: *"On the other hand we find in Syndicalism the principle of independence and neutrality towards all political parties, including the political party of the proletariat."*

This I think explains everything about "boring from within." The theses on "Tactics" give no other impression than that the main function of "boring from within" is to oust the old leaders. Says Losovsky in paragraph 24, "Theses on Tactics," speaking of English labor unions:

"The problem under such conditions is not to wrest individual prominent members from the mass of workers, from the unions in order to create certain extra-union organizations, but to see to it that all the most conscious, revolutionary active elements should work organically in the very thick of the

laboring masses; in the factories and shops, in the lowest nuclei of the unions, striving to secure responsible, leading positions in the labor union movement from top to bottom."

It is a waste of time and space to attempt a detailed examination of the boring from within theory, its promulgators have advanced it evidently with their Russian viewpoint, and besides, know little about the conditions in America, or any other country for that matter. But measuring it from the standpoint of capturing the leadership in the conservative unions its reasons for existence are easily seen. I have searched everything published on this subject by the Communist tacticians and I have yet to find a comprehensive plan that would define a complete program for this theory. The following from the theses on "Organization" by Losovsky, comes the nearest to saying something on this subject that exists as far as I know:

"IV. The Conquest of the Old Trade Unions

"12. The counter-revolutionary part played, at the present time, by the trade union bureaucracy; the strangling of the revolutionary movement of the working class awakened in certain sections of the revolutionary proletariat in all countries the thought of leaving the unions and the creation of new, purely revolutionary unions. This is the origin of the watchwords 'destroy the unions' and 'out of the unions' which met with a rather favorable reception among that section of the revolutionary elements who were rather despairing and in a pessimistic mood, having lost confidence in the masses. This policy of breaking off from the unions by the revolutionary elements, thanks to which the great masses are abandoned to the influence of the working class, plays into the hands of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy and must be resolutely and categorically rejected. Not to destroy, but to conquer the unions, i. e. the great mass of workers who are still in the old trade unions, this should be our rallying point in the development of the revolutionary struggle.

"13. Meeting half way the slogan 'out of the unions,' the trade union bureaucracy of all countries began to expel the leading elements of the revolutionary trade union movement. This rendered still more acute the pessimistic mood and strengthened the slogan 'out of the unions.' But it would be a great error on the part of the supporters of the Red Inter-

national if, being drawn into this provocation, they were to abandon the trade union movement and confine themselves in minute revolutionary unions.

"The workers expelled from the unions should not be disintegrated. They must remain organized on the same plane as they were before the exclusion, acting always as a definite, legal part of the union which had expelled them. By no means should they play into the hands of the trade union bureaucracy and facilitate it in the struggle against the ever-increasing revolutionary spirit of the masses.

"14. Our policy with respect to old trade unions should take into consideration that, at the actual moment, they embrace many millions of workers. The task of the revolutionary elements in the trade unions does not consist in wresting from the unions the best and class conscious workers in order to create small organizations. Their task should be to revolutionize the unions, to transform them into a weapon of social revolution by means of the everyday struggle in favor of all the revolutionary demands put forward by the workers within the old trade unions. Every kind of organizing work should develop along the lines of fighting the treachery and slackness of the trade union bureaucracy in the struggle for the everyday interests of the workers. To conquer the unions means to conquer the masses, and these can only be conquered by a systematically obstinate work, setting against the policy of class collaboration that of our steady revolutionary line of action. The slogan 'out of the unions' prevents us from conquering the masses to our cause and retards the advance of the social revolution.

"15. It would be similarly erroneous to consider the organization of trade unions as an aim in itself. They are but only the means to an end. By rejecting the motto 'out of the unions' we must resolutely declare ourselves against the fetish of organization and the watchword 'Unity at any cost and under all circumstances.' The conquest of the unions does not imply the seizure of the union cash book or of its property, but the conquest of its members. The difference is easily forgotten and the union is often confused with its office, its cash and its officials. This 'trade union machinery' standpoint should encounter a resolute opposition on the part of the revolutionary class conscious unions. The revolutionary trade unions are

against the split. They stand for unity, but they do not fear the split, this should be brought home to everyone of us."

The most striking feature about the above is the vagueness with which it treats this "pet subject," and being vague, it is but natural that inconsistency would abound. It is a masterpiece of childish dribble. It tells the workers to leave the "yellow leaders" of Amsterdam but stay with the "yellow leaders" of the various countries, seemingly unaware of the fact that support of the national leaders certainly does not weaken Amsterdam.

I leave it to the members of the I. W. W. to solve this riddle and arrive at an understanding as to where this "boring" is going to start and where it will end. It is like boring a tunnel without knowing where the tunnel will end.

Having, I think, established that the Red International was completely dominated by the Third International it is to the point to call attention here to paragraph 45 of the Theses on Organization, under the section headed: "Conditions of Affiliation to the Red International." It is the "joker," clumsily disguised, that has for its purpose the delivery of the world's labor movement into the hands of the Executive Committee of the Communist International via the international disciplinarians of the Red International.

45. "An international organization is only then properly established when its decisions are carried out by corresponding organizations in all countries. The experience of international organizations before, and especially during the war shows that many organizations do not consider the decisions adopted by international congresses as binding on the national organizations. But the Red International cannot endorse their standpoint and therefore establishes the necessity of international proletarian discipline, i. e. that separate national organizations must abide by the decisions of the International Congresses and Conferences."

One could go on without end in criticizing the "Resolutions and Decisions" for their lack of an intelligible plan for an International organization. However, it is useless to dissect nonsense that is studied and methodical. In fact, considering everything, the ambiguity of the whole program is its chief strength, because it has a tendency to confuse the great majority of the workers, who, maintaining an ideological attitude towards the Russian revolution, confuse this wonderful achievement with a political party.

I will only deal with one thing more, "the Constitution of the Red International of the Labor Unions." To save space I will omit the introduction to this resolution, and commence with "Aims and Purpose."

"II. Aims and Purpose

"The Red International of Labor Unions has for its aims:

"1) To organize the large working mass in the whole world for the overthrow of capitalism, the emancipation of the toilers from oppression and exploitation and the establishment of the socialist commonwealth.

"2) To carry on a wide agitation and propaganda of the principles of revolutionary class struggle, social revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and revolutionary mass action for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system and the bourgeois state.

"3) To fight against the corruptive ulcer, gnawing at the vitals of the world labor union movement, of compromising with the bourgeoisie, against the ideas of class cooperation and social peace and the absurd hopes for a peaceable transition from capitalism to socialism.

"4) To unite the revolutionary class elements of the world labor union movement and carry on decisive battle against the International Bureau of Labor attached to the League of Nations and against the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, which by their program and tactics are but the bulwark of the world bourgeoisie.

"5) To coordinate and regulate the struggle of the working class in all countries and organize international demonstrations each time, when the situation demands them.

"6) To take the initiative of international campaigns about prominent events of class struggle, to open subscription lists for the benefit of strikers in great social conflicts, etc."

I don't think comment is necessary on the above other than to ask, what particular set of aims in any way clarifies the subject about which the matter is printed? To say that the "Aims and Purposes" are "to organize the working class in the whole world for ... the emancipation of the toilers from oppression and exploitation" doesn't mean anything, because

the yellow Socialists and Amsterdamers also recommend this same vague process. Organize? Sure! But how? And by what logical process are the workers to get control of the industries? We don't want to leave anything to the imagination on this point. The fact of the matter is that this clause is another instance of studied and methodical nonsense. But if the author had written what was in his heart, too much would have been uncovered.

Conditions of Membership.

Under the rules of "Membership" the doors and windows of the next Red International Congress are thrown wide open for another avalanche of Communist delegates representing their millions of phantom workers. But of course it could not be that the framer of this clause had this very thing in mind!

"Membership

"Any revolutionary economic class organization is eligible to membership in the Red International of Labor Unions if it accepts the following conditions:

"1) Endorsement of the principles of revolutionary class struggle.

"2) Application of these principles in its daily struggle with capitalism and the bourgeois state.

"3) Recognition of the necessity of the overthrow of capitalism through the social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the transition period.

"4) Recognition and application of the decisions of the Constituent Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions.

"6) The rupture with the Amsterdam yellow International.

"7) United action with all the revolutionary organizations and the Communist party of the country in all defensive and offensive activities against the bourgeoisie."

Article IV, "International Congresses"

This article is the "joker," and two interesting paragraphs that are particularly valuable to those Communists, who, to determine the amount of the workers they will represent, need only a lead pencil that will write out the figures. The whole Syndicalist movement has perhaps 3,000,000 members,

which would net them about 18 votes, a liberal estimate using article IV as a basis. The German Communist minority could match this alone, not to mention the potentialities of the American, French, English, Italian and a score of other countries. And, too, the usual "joker" is found in the next paragraph to that which fixes representation. It is morally certain that the conservative labor unions in the various countries will never join the Red International, and hence arises the necessity for a Communist minority. Here are the two paragraphs commented on above.

"Every national organization of trade or industrial unions less than 10,000 members, receives one consultative voice on the congress; national organizations having from 10,000 to 25,000 members send one delegate with a deciding vote; from 25,000 to 100,000 members—two delegates with deciding votes; from 100,000 to 250,000—four delegates with deciding votes; from 250,000 to 500,000—six delegates, and for each additional 500,000 members one delegate with a deciding vote is added. International revolutionary class organizations by trades or industries have the right to two deciding votes each.

"*Organized minorities in countries have the same representation,* but all organizations of a given country affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions make up a single delegation, inside of which the votes are divided proportionally to the membership of the respective organizations. Organized minorities and fractions have representation on the congress only in the case, when the general labor union" (by this is meant the conservative unions) "organization of that country is not affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions."

The Central Council.

By Article V, "Organs of the Red International of Labor Unions" on the Central Council the Russians are forever provided with four delegates, other countries two, and some one. I say forever because this particular Red International will never meet outside of Russia. However, this doesn't matter as the Central Council as such will in the future carry on a paper existence. The real body is the Executive Bureau which is elected by the Central Council and the Central Council having made these provisions disbands until the next Congress. This Central Council always assured of a Communist majority will of course always elect safe and sane comrades to the Executive

Bureau, etc., etc., and our attention attracted thus to this exalted center, it takes no mental effort to see that the powers controlling this particular body will be no other than the General Headquarters of the Third International. I quote this article:

"V. Organs of the Red International of Labor Unions

"The Red International of Labor Unions has two organs: the Central Council and the Executive Bureau.

"Central Council. The Central Council is composed as follows: England, United States, Germany, Italy, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and France have two representatives each; Russia has four; all other countries having more than 25,000 have one representative with a deciding vote; countries having less than 25,000 have one representative with a consulting voice, international organizations by trades or industries have one representative with a consulting voice.

"The Central Council directs all the work of the Red International of Labor Unions from congress to congress; takes all decisions necessitated by the circumstances; represents the Red International of Labor Unions before the whole world; acts in its name, gathers in its hands all the materials and documents related to the international labor movement; manages all funds including the International Fund of Militant Solidarity; publishes papers and magazines in different languages; in short, is the organ invested with the power to direct the work between the world congresses.

"The Central Council meets at least twice a year dealing mostly with the clearing of questions of principles, and leaving all current work to the Executive Bureau."

The present composition of the Executive Bureau and the methods used to place Andreytchine there are conclusive proof as to what element will always make up this body. And together with this is the fact that the Red International will be personified in these seven men. They will be the Red International. And with the plan of central control of all organizations that belong to the R.T.U.I., which is so plainly insisted in the adopted "Resolutions and Decisions," it is plain to see that this particular group will sit securely alone and run the Red International to suit themselves. And it can be depended on that this bureau will have the machinery of the next congress well oiled for future political travels.

The Executive Bureau

The Executive Bureau consists of seven members elected by the Central Council, including two members of the country where the Headquarters of the Red International of Labor Unions is located.

"The Executive Bureau directs all the current affairs of the Red International of Labor Unions. It regulates the work of the departments and sections; publishes the official organs of the Red International of Labor Unions; represents the Red International of Labor Unions and the Central Council wherever and whenever it is necessary; and prepares all the questions for the sessions of the Central Council. The Executive Bureau meets at least once a week."

Provision for Funds.

The provision for funds made in the Constitution I am going to leave to the conclusions of any mathematical genius that chances to read this report. The only thing I can make out of it is that the labor bodies who have a membership will supply the treasury. The Communist minorities will be deadheads, but having all the votes will spend all the money to wreck the very organizations that supply it. A bright future for an International of Labor Unions to face!

"Article VII. Funds

"The funds of the Red International are composed of regular dues paid by the national organizations affiliated with it and of special contributions. The quota of the payments is established as follows: at least 1 per cent of the total income of the organizations which receive into their central treasury 50 per cent or more of the membership dues: at least 2 per cent from those organizations receiving into their central treasury 25 to 50 per cent of the membership dues; at least 3 per cent from those organizations receiving from 10 to 25 per cent of the membership dues and at least 5 per cent from those organizations receiving less than 10 per cent of the membership dues. Until the creation of the necessary fund all financial means will be furnished by the general labor organization of the country where the headquarters of the Red International of Labor Unions is located."

I will finish with the subject of "Relations with the Communist International," by saying that this is a very clumsy

decoy, and only meant for superficial examination. As a matter of fact the Communists knew all along that they would control the Red International but now try with the aid of this clause to "dummy up" on the Syndicalist organizations. But such transparent shams have fooled no one. This clause serves nicely as the official alibi of the Communists. With it they expect to prove that the Red International is independent of the Third International. But the question is: Who could they prove it to?

"X. Relations with the Communist International

"To establish close and unbreakable connections between the Red International of Labor Unions and the Third Communist International the Central Council:

"1) Sends three representatives to the Executive Committee of the Communist International with deciding votes and vice versa.

"2) Organizes joint sessions with the Executive Committee of the Communist International for the discussion of the most important issues of the international labor movement, and for the organization of common action.

"3) Issues, when it is warranted by the events, joint appeals with the Communist International."

This ends the discussions on the "Resolutions and Decisions," and having nothing more of importance to consider in connection with the Red International I will make a few remarks on the "International Congress of Seamen."

World Congress of Seamen

Besides bearing credentials for the Red International I also bore credentials for a World's Congress of Seamen which was scheduled to take place in Petrograd on August 1st. This congress never materialized, but a so-called conference was arranged for, and held in Moscow on August 12, 1921. According to the reasons advanced by Losovsky, the intended congress was annulled because in the light of the situation it was a wrong policy to organize a separate Seamen's International from the Red International. Together with this point of view there were few seamen's delegates present and they represented but a small fraction of the workers in this industry. Delegates representing seamen were present only from four countries: Australia, Argentina, Germany and America. I made no ob-

jection to turning the intended congress into a conference for that reason. However, the German and Argentine delegates objected rather strongly against the new arrangement. Nothing came out of the conference worth covering here.

German Syndicalist Congress.

Leaving Moscow I arrived in Berlin, where, having an enforced stay ahead of me, I accepted an invitation to attend the congress of the German Syndicalists (F. A. U. D.) in a fraternal capacity. Prior to the opening of this congress other delegates (who had represented various countries at the Red International) arrived and informal discussions were entered into regarding the international situation. Discussions in these conferences indicated an unanimous opinion that the Congress of the Red International was not at all satisfactory to the Syndicalist organizations, but opinion was divided as to what action to take. It was considered advisable to allow the general situation to clear up by waiting until the many organizations represented in Moscow could decide on the reports of their delegates. This of course would take some time. When I left Germany for home the situation as it appeared to me, was as follows:

That practically none of the Syndicalist organizations of Europe will affiliate with the Red International and that these organizations are still very anxious to, in some way, establish connections with other revolutionary organizations. All that is needed is initiative by some organization and the necessary preliminary business for the establishment of an Economic International can be easily arranged. And I think that if the I. W. W. sponsored such a move it would get immediate responses.

The foreign delegates who attended the German Congress including myself agreed that the Holland delegates would act as the secretary of a temporary bureau which would function as an information bureau, and keep the various revolutionary organizations in touch with the situation. This ended my participation in anything pertaining to the labor movement in Europe, excepting a short talk to the German Syndicalist congress which was printed in Industrial Solidarity.

Proof of Domination.

I will add here some material that I think is conclusive proof that the Red International was dominated by the Third International. It is in the form of two documents dealing with the same subject. One of the documents was adopted as a part of a resolution by the Third International, the other was adopted in the same capacity at the first Congress of the Red International. Both these documents were written in the original, without doubt by the same individual, but as they appear in the congresses mentioned above, one has been slightly altered by changing a few words or shows a reconstruction of a sentence. It is obvious that the one that was adopted by the Third International Congress is the original. It makes little difference who was the author, but it makes a world of difference what motive and influences caused it to appear embodied in a resolution that was adopted at the First Congress of the Red International, after being adopted at the Third Congress of the Communist International.

The two documents are displayed below in parallel form so that the reader can examine the selected paragraphs. The one on the left is that adopted by the Communist Congress and the other by the Red International Congress. You will, of course, see that the two documents are the same by comparing one paragraph with the one directly opposite.

PROGRAM OF ACTION FROM THESES AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, PAGES 69 TO 72, RUSSIAN EDITION.	PROGRAM OF ACTION FROM THE RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, PAGES 38 TO 44, AMERICAN EDITION.
(Paragraph 3, page 69 and 70.) The last year of the struggle has shown with a particular vividness the inability of strictly trade union organizations. The fact of the workers in one concern belonging to several unions produces a weakening effect on the struggle. It is necessary ... and this should be the starting point of a tenacious struggle—	(Paragraph 46, page 38.) The last years of the struggle have shown with a peculiar vividness the inability for strictly trade union organizations to meet the situation. The fact that the workers in one concern belong to different craft unions weakens their efficiency in the struggle. It is necessary ... and this should be the starting point of an implacable struggle ...

(Paragraph 4, page 70.)	(Paragraph 47, page 39.)
Each factory and each mill should become a citadel of the revolution. Old forms of communication between rank and file members of the union and the union itself such as money collectors, representatives, proxies and others should be substituted by the formation of factory committees.	Each factory and each shop should become a citadel of the revolution. Old forms of communication between rank and file members and the union itself such as money collectors, representatives, proxies and others are insufficient; it is necessary to strive towards the building up of the union on the basis of shop committees.
(Paragraph 5, page 70.)	(Paragraph 48, page 39.)
The first question to be put before the workers and the factory committee ... is the maintenance of the workers discharged on account of unemployment at the expense of the enterprise. It should not be permitted that workers should be thrown out into the streets without the enterprise being in the least concerned ... The owner must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed ...	The first question to be put before the workers in the shop committee ... is the maintenance of the workers discharged on account of unemployment, at the expense of the bosses of the given branch of industry. Workers should not be permitted to be thrown out on the streets without the employers being in the least concerned ... The owner must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed.
(Paragraph 6, page 70.)	(Paragraph 49, page 39.)
The closing down of enterprises and curtailing of the workers' hours are at present time the most efficient weapon for the cleaning of the concern from unreliable elements with the help of which the bourgeoisie is compelling the workers to accept the reduction of wages, increasing of the working day and the abolition of collective bargaining. The lock-out is taking more and more definitely a form of direct action on the part of the employers.	The closing down of concerns and shortening of the working hours are the most efficient means with the help of which the bourgeoisie compels the workers to accept lower wages, longer hours, and the abolition of collective bargaining. Lockouts take a more and more definite form of direct action on the part of the employers against the organized workers.
(Paragraph 7, page 70.)	(Paragraph 50, page 40.)
One of the ways of struggling against such closing of concerns for the purpose of a reduction of wages and standard of life should be the taking hold by the workers of the factories and mills and proceeding with production by themselves despite the owners' will.	One of the ways of battling against the closing of concerns for the purpose of the reduction of wages and lowering of the standard of life, should be the taking over of the factories and mills by the workers and the proceeding with production by themselves despite the owners' will.

(Paragraph 9, page 71.)	(Paragraph 53, page 41.)
In the case of such tendencies of reducing wages taken up by capitalists of an economic crisis in the country, the task of the revolutionary trade unions should consist in their endeavors to prevent the reduction in wages by turn in each separate concern, in order not to be defeated in parts.	When the tactics of wage reduction are resorted to by the capitalist class during an economic crisis, the problem of the revolutionary trade unions consists in defeating wage reduction in capitalist industries, in order not to be defeated piecemeal.
(Paragraph 11, page 71.)	(Paragraph 54, page 41.)
The belief in the absolute value of collective stipulations propagated by the opportunists of all countries must be met with a resolute and keen resistance from the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. The collective stipulation, etc., etc.	The belief in the sanctity of collective bargaining propagated by the opportunists of all countries must be met with a resolute and decided resistance on the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. Collective bargaining, etc., etc.
(Paragraph 13, page 71.)	(Paragraph 56, page 42.)
These militant organizations not only struggle against the attacks of the employers and the strikebreaking organizations, but take the initiative by stopping all the freight and products.	These militant organizations should not only resist the attacks of the employers and the strikebreaking organizations, but take the initiative by stopping all freight and goods, etc., etc.

I have gone through everything that I think is necessary in connection with the Red International. This report could have been made much longer by studied detail, but it would be of little use here. I think, too, that the reader will finish this report with the impression that I have dealt more with the Communist control phase than with other matter. However, this is not a fault, but, as I see it, it was really the whole issue of the Congress of the Red International. What particular words or clauses are in the "Resolutions or Decisions" are important only in consideration of this control. And the question of control having been settled, it is obvious (especially with Communists) that these "Resolutions and Decisions" would make little difference in the policy pursued. But in this case (the Red International) it seems as though the Communists were so bent on camouflaging their position as to manufacture a set of resolutions that are wholly devoid of any meaning at all. For that reason I have commented very little

on them, feeling that the membership would see the inherent weakness of everything adopted. The narrative of the conditions in Russia I am going to leave to a separate report, which I soon hope to present to the membership of the I. W. W.

This is all I have to offer as a report and I leave it to the judgment of the members of the I. W. W. confident that they will give it the careful consideration it deserves.

With best wishes, I remain yours for Industrial Freedom,

Geo. Williams.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 12, 1921.

STATEMENT BY GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Chicago, Illinois, December 10, 1921.

The General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World recommends that this organization do not affiliate in any manner with the Red Trade Union International.

The Board has reached this decision after careful examination of the constitution and resolutions adopted by the first congress at Moscow; the preliminary report and numerous other documents transmitted by Fellow Worker George Williams, the only authorized delegate sent from the I. W. W. to this congress.

The Board regards affiliation by the Industrial Workers of the World with this so-called International as not only undesirable but absolutely impossible for the following reasons:

FIRST THE CONGRESS EXPRESSLY CONDEMNED THE POLICY AND TACTICS OF THE I. W. W.

In a "Resolution on the Question of Tactics," paragraph 26, appears the following:

> "The Industrial Workers of the World, an independent organization in America, is too weak to take the place of the old labor unions. The I. W. W. have a purely anarchistic prejudice against politics and political action, being divided into supporters and opponents of such a cardinal question as proletarian dictatorship. . . . Therefore the question of creating revolutionary cells and groups inside the American Federation of Labor and the independent unions is of vital importance. There is no other way by which one could gain the working mass in America, than to lead a systematic struggle within the unions."

In Resolution VII, "On the Organization Question," the congress explicitly declares for the policy of "boring from within" the reactionary trade unions and condemns all efforts to construct new and scientific revolutionary organizations. Under section V. of this resolution ("Problems of Organization in the Principal Countries") the work of the I. W. W. in England is described in the following terms (paragraph 18):

> "In England, irrespective of a powerful labor movement, which is undergoing a radical change, there are attempts at creating new organizations of the I. W. W.,

or One Big Union type. Such attempts should be absolutely and sharply condemned . . . To wrest out tens of thousands of revolutionary workers and form new independent organizations is a crime against the working class of England and the whole world. Hence all the organizations which are in accord with the Red Trade Union International must concentrate all their efforts for the purpose of winning over the unions one by one, consolidate their ranks, not wasting time on the selected few, 'the top,' who are in touch with the masses."

Unless we are prepared to admit that the British administration of the I. W. W. is "a crime against the working class of England and the whole world," we are certainly preluded from affiliating with the people who say so.

The next paragraph (19), referring to America, lays down as law a policy utterly opposed to that which has guided the I. W. W. from its beginning. It is as follows:

"In the United States of America, where we have the reactionary American Federation of Labor, some independent unions, the I. W. W. and others, the principle of staying within the old unions is prevailing here too. The members of the I. W. W. should join their respective trade unions and spread their propaganda among them explaining the working class problems. The longer they keep themselves aloof from the American Federation of Labor, the greater will be the sufferings and the harder will be the process of advancement of the unorganized workers there. The independent unions which favor the Red Labor Union International should co-ordinate their activities, and come to an understanding with those labor councils which officially belong to the American Federation of Labor, but agree with our tactics. Co-ordination and unity of action among the local organizations of the American Federation of Labor and the I. W. W. favoring the Red International should also be established."

SECOND: THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL IS POLITICAL IN CHARACTER AND DOMINATED BY POLITICIANS. IT IS IN FACT THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THINLY DISGUISED.

The evidence of this is so abundant in the official transactions of the congress, not to speak of the character of its personnel as described in Fellow Worker Williams' report, that we need but quote, first, the constitution. Article III. ("On Conditions of Membership") says:

"Any revolutionary economic class organization is eligible to membership in the Red International of Labor Unions if it accepts the following conditions . . . Section 7. United action with all the revolutionary organizations and the Communist Party of the country in all defensive activities against the bourgeoisie."

And Resolution III. ("On the Question of Relation Between the Red Labor Union International and the Communist International") in which the congress resolves:

"(2) To establish the closest possible contact with the Third Communist International as the vanguard of the revolutionary labor movement in all the parts of the world on the basis of joint representation at both executive cimmittees, joint conferences, etc.

(3) That the above connection should have an organic and business character and be expressed in the joint prepraration of pre-revolutionary action on a national and international scale.

(4) That it is imperative for every country to strive towards uniting the revolutionary labor union organizations and the establishment of the closest contact between the red labor unions and the Communist parties for the carrying out of the decisions of both congresses."

Turning again to the constitution we find (Article X—"Relations with the Communist International"—Section 1) that three representatives from the R. T. U. I. will sit with deciding votes on the executive committee of the Third (political) International, and vice versa.

Until our resolution refusing alliances with any political party is repealed, any connection between such an organization and the I. W. W. is not to be thought of.

THIRD: IT IS THE ANNOUNCED INTENTION OF THE CLIQUE WHICH CREATED AND WHICH CONTROLS THE R. T. U. I. TO "LIQUIDATE" ALL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS EVERYWHERE THAT REFUSE TO SUBMIT TO THEIR AUTOCRATIC DISCIPLINE.

Throughout the published resolutions are indiscriminate denunciations of this labor organization and that, in all the countries to which the influence of the R. T. U. I. extends. Commands are given with an air of papal infallibility. But the would-be dictators of the world's revolutionary proletariat go further than merely passing resolutions. They send their propagandists, plentifully supplied with money, to attempt the dis-

ruption of such labor unions as refuse to submit unconditionally to their sovereign decrees. Of this fact we have ample and convincing evidence.

FOURTH: IT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE R. T. U. I. TO "LIQUIDATE"—I. E., DESTROY, THE I. W. W.

We have already shown that this congress adopted resolutions disapproving the I. W. W. position and in effect advising it to give up its separate existence and send its members on the wild goose chase of trying to "capture the trade unions".

We now submit from a document of the congress, entitled, "Summary of Report on Trade Union Policy in the United States" (prepared by Joseph Dixon) what amounts to a plan of action to be followed by R. T. U. I. adherents:

> "In the meantime the active revolutionists are in the One Big Union, and the Industrial Workers of the World and similar organizations. While their numbers are not large, they dominate the minds of the revolutionists who are in the trade unions, giving them an attitude of hopelessness toward these trade unions and rendering them inactive therein. Some way must be found to liquidate these 'ideal' unions and release the revolutionary energies among the masses; the idea is more important than the actual structure and membership involved. It must be recognized that this can be done only gradually. The first steps will probably be removal of the present prohibiton of revolutionists holding office in trade unions; conceding the jurisdictions of the well-organized industries like mining to the established unions; and when this process has well begun, the consolidation of the remaining structures of the 'ideal' unions and their concentration on unorganized fields, especially the unskilled, and possibly a system of minority committees within the larger movement functioning, not to break it up, but to strengthen it and make it more aggressive, to give it revolutionary leadership."

And after referring to the "bankruptcy of the 'ideal' unions" and reiterating the old stuff about working inside the obsolete craft unions, the document concludes with the following suggestions for subtly and gradually undermining the revolutionary morale of the I. W. W. members, preparatory to their final "liquidation":

> "First we must recognize that the I. W. W. and the O. B. U. cannot be forced or cajoled into immediately abandoning their present policy; convincing them is about

> as hard. They have a religiously fanatic devotion to their organizations. It would probably be even harder to get them to unite; although upon that point representatives of the two organizations should speak. The most practical immediate step which promises success in winning their support will probably take the form of an agreement on their part, already agreed to in principle by a Communist minority, that efforts to invade the fields of coal mining, railroads and needle trades, with dual organizations, will be abandoned; and instead of prohibiting their members from participation in trade union administration and activities, they will be directed to work within the trade unions in good faith, not to disrupt them but to strengthen them and develop their best tendencies."

The G. E. B. does not expect the I. W. W. will care to be party to a carefully conceived plot for its own destruction.

FIFTH: THE MOSCOW CONGRESS WAS NOT GENUINELY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY LABOR MOVEMENT.

It was a packed congress. Delegates were seated with votes who represented non-existent organizations. The makeup of the body was arranged so as to assure absolute control by the Communist Party. For evidence of this fact, especially as regards the American delegation, we refer to the preliminary report of Fellow Worker Wliliams.

SIXTH: EVEN IF IT WERE PERMITTED TO ASSOCIATE OUR ACTIVITIES WITH ANY POLITICAL GROUP, THE I. W. W. WOULD FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

These "Communists," many of whom were members of the reformist Socialist Party until they were thrown out after unsuccessfully trying to gain control of it, have seemed to make the I. W. W. the especial target of their attack—probably because the I. W. W. refused to be interested in their phrase-mongering and "underground" nonsense. They have wormed their way into our organization with no other motive than to rule or ruin. Their press incessantly attacks the I. W. W. position. They have even used the distress of the Russian famine victims for the purpose of their propaganda. Their speakers supposedly touring the country to solicit funds for relief (a project which the I. W. W. heartily supported) have abused their humanitarian mission by taking the opportunity to spread C. P. propaganda and to disparage the I. W. W. They are

plentifully supplied with funds—which do not come from the pockets of the working class—with which to carry out the nefarious project above exposed to sabotage and destroy Revolutionary Industrial Unionism as exemplified by our organization. They are promoting a "unity" conference of independent unions which has no other object than to supplant the I. W. W. Infatuated with their own egotism and their fancied role of saviours of the working class, they are ready to use any means, no matter how underhanded and dishonest, to destroy wherever they cannot dominate.

The G. E. B. reaffirms the internationalism of the I. W. W. The conception of our organization is world wide in its scope. In fact as well as in name we aim to be the Industrial Workers of the World. We extend the hand of solidarity to revolutionary, class conscious workers of every land. We invite them to examine our program, Preamble and plan of organization, and see if they do not establish a scientific basis for revolutionary unionism in their respective countries. We welcome proposals for international affiliation that are not in conflict with our principles and policy, and do not call upon us to sacrifice our autonomy.

In concluding this report, the General Executive Board calls upon all members of the I. W. W., to whom the organization's name and integrity are dear, to rally to its support. It is being attacked not only by the capitalist class, but by professed revolutionists, some of whom carry its membership card. They have plentiful funds to prosecute their schemes of disruption. The I. W. W. has none to combat them except what its members supply. They have not failed in their revolutionary duty before; they will not do so now! And the I. W. W. will live and march on toward its goal of working-class emancipation when the very names of its detractors are forgotten.

Yours for Industrial Communism,

The General Executive Board
of the Industrial Workers of the World.

John Grady, General Secretary-Treasurer.
Robert E. Daly, Chairman.
Calvin Green.
Alex. Kohler.
Martin Carlson.
Albert Bare.
Walter Smith.
John Jackson.

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